Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Churkin on Arms Talks, Gorbachev-Bush Meeting *[TRUD 29 Mar]* 1
Tactical Weapons Cut Urged in Europe *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Mar]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Churkin Interviewed on Soviet Reform *[Prague Radio]* 3
Churkin 28 March News Conference Reported 3
Defends Former Bloc Leaders *[TASS]* 3
Central America-EC Meeting Reviewed *[Moscow International]* 4
On Swedish 1952 Plane Crash Request *[TASS]* 4
TASS Reports 27 March Churkin News Briefing 4
Talks in Tunisia With 'Arafat 4
Preparations for Upcoming Summits 4
Najibullah's Proposals Viewed 5
Regret Expressed Over Coup in Mali 5
Military Advisers Released 5

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Fire at U.S. Embassy; Access Denied 40 Minutes *[TASS]* 6
Bessmertnykh, U.S. Official Discuss Embassies *[IZVESTIYA 28 Mar]* 6

Northeast Asia

Reports Continue on Visit by Japan's Ozawa 6
Meeting With Yanayev Noted *[PRAVDA 27 Mar]* 6
PRAVDA on Gorbachev Talks *[26 Mar]* 6
Ozawa Interviewed *[Moscow International]* 7
Gorbachev Interviewed *[Tokyo KYODO]* 8
Ignatenko Denies Japan Cash-for-Kurils Offer *[Moscow TV]* 12
Committee Organized for Gorbachev's Japan Visit *[TASS]* 12

Near East & South Asia

Ambassador To Kuwait Discusses Soviets' Return *[Cairo AL-ANBA' 24 Mar]* 12
Commentary Examines UN Postwar Resolution *[Moscow International]* 13
'Permanent' U.S. Presence in Gulf Opposed *[Moscow International]* 14
Palestinian Describes Conflict With Israel *[TASS]* 14
Yanayev, Primakov Meet With Israeli Attorney *[Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT 22 Mar]* 15

Sub-Saharan Africa

Bessmertnykh Meets With Ethiopian Counterpart *[IZVESTIYA 28 Mar]* 15
Ethiopian Ambassador Comments on Relations *[Moscow International]* 15
EPLF Releases Soviet Advisers, Eases Tension *[PRAVDA 29 Mar]* 16
Ethiopia Situation Termed 'Alarming' *[Moscow International]* 17

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

Proceedings From 28 March Session Detailed 18
Lukyanov Report on Moscow Rally *[TASS]* 19
Laptev Statement on Rallies *[Moscow Radio]* 19
Accord Considered Possible on Union Treaty *[TASS]* 20
Legislative Committee on Relations With Japan *[TASS]* 20
Lukyanov 26 March Statement on Referendum *[Moscow TV]* 20
IZVESTIYA Reports 25 March Session Debates *[27 Mar]* 21
Legislature Reviews Voting Procedures *[PRAVDA 25 Mar]* 23

Political & Social

Shevardnadze Says Dictator Warnings Proved Right *[Belgrade TANJUG]* 24
Pugo Attends MVD Internal Forces' Conference *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Mar]* 24
'Civic Concord' Appeals for End to Strife *[TASS]* 25
Soyuz Deputies Appeal For 'Consensus' *[PRAVDA 26 Mar]* 25
Justice Minister on Republics' Right To Secede *[TASS]* 26
Gorbachev Addresses Agro-Industrial Workers *[Moscow TV]* 26
Hijack Attempt of Arkhangelsk Flight Foiled *[TASS]* 27
Paper on Establishing Food Supply Commission *[IZVESTIYA 27 Mar]* 27
Ivashko Phone-in on Party Policy Issues *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Mar]* 27
Ivashko Chairs Meeting on Women's Affairs *[Moscow Radio]* 31
Party Problems Amid Political Pluralism Viewed *[TASS]* 31
Nezvorov Views 'Television News Service' *[Moscow TV]* 32
Union Referendum Results Published *[PRAVDA 27 Mar]* 32

Economic

Reports Continue on Tension, Strikes in Mines *[Moscow Radio]* 35
Gorbachev, Pavlov To Meet Miners 2 Apr *[Moscow Radio]* 35
Vorkuta Miners Issue Ultimatum *[Moscow Radio]* 35
TV Update on Strike, Demands *[Moscow TV]* 35
Half Donetsk Coalminers Return to Work *[Kiev International]* 36
Strike Threatens Power Plant *[Moscow Radio]* 36
Losses in Kemerovo Reported *[Moscow Radio]* 36
Kuzbass Workers' Demands Discussed *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 26 Mar]* 36
Geology Minister Views Mineral Resources *[Moscow Radio]* 41
Retail Reform Implementation Resolution *[PRAVDA 27 Mar]* 41
Inspectors Discover Smuggled Cash on Train *[Moscow TV]* 42
Comparison of Gorbachev Taxation Decree *[TASS]* 42

Agricultural

RSFSR Deputies Appeal For Aid, Support *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 26 Mar]* 43
Mid-March Weather, Crop Condition Reported *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 26 Mar]* 45

Scientific

TV Shows Near-Collision of Mir, Cargo Craft *[Moscow TV]* 46
Spacecraft Docks Successfully *[TASS]* 46
No 'Barriers' To Joint U.S. Space Linkup *[IZVESTIYA 16 Mar]* 46

Military

First All-Army Party Conference Opens *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 29 Mar]* 47
Gurenko at Kiev Military District Party Meeting *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 Mar]* 47

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

Baltic Independence To Be 'Settled' in Moscow *[Riga Radio]* 48
Talks With Estonia in 'Constructive Spirit' *[TASS]* 48
Estonia Supreme Soviet Discusses Electoral Roll *[Tallinn Radio]* 48
Estonia Bank Selling Hard Currency to Citizens *[IZVESTIYA 25 Mar]* 49
Latvian Groups Send Food to Striking Miners *[Riga Radio]* 49
Latvian Russian Community Group Established *[IZVESTIYA 25 Mar]* 49
Landsbergis Greetings Support Russia, Yeltsin *[Radio Vilnius]* 49
'Problem' of Lithuania-Moscow Talks Considered *[Vilnius International]* 49
Butkevicius on Moscow Visit *[Radio Vilnius]* 50
Decree on Protecting Buildings With Firearms *[Radio Vilnius]* 51
Lithuanian Supreme Council's 28 Mar Session *[Radio Vilnius]* 51
Lithuanian Leaders Note Changes, Map Future *[Radio Vilnius]* 51
Lithuanian Legislature Discusses Draft Budget *[TASS]* 51
UK MP's Visit Lithuania, Received by Landsbergis *[EKHO LITVY 14 Mar]* 52
Lithuania To Compensate Savings Accounts *[Radio Vilnius]* 52

RSFSR

Further Reportage on Moscow Demonstrations 52
APC's Unrelated to Rallies *[TRUD 27 Mar]* 52
Bakatin Says Ban 'Hasty' *[Moscow TV]* 53
TASS on 'Heated Atmosphere' 53
Efforts To Prevent Rally Clashes *[TASS]* 53
USSR Legislature Issues Warning *[TASS]* 54
TASS: Moscow Appears 'Normal' *[TASS]* 54
Rally Opens in Mayakovskiy Square *[Moscow Radio]* 54
Banners Carry Pro-Yeltsin Slogans *[Moscow Radio]* 54
'No Serious Incidents' at Rally *[TASS]* 55
Radio Vilnius Reports Casualties 55
Pro-Yeltsin Demonstration Ends *[Moscow Radio]* 55
Radio Reporter Views Demonstration *[Moscow Radio]* 56
Moscow Radio: 150,000 at Rallies 56
Estimates Say 900,000 at Rally *[Moscow Radio]* 56
Comparison of Khasbulatov on Troop Withdrawal *[Moscow TV]* 57
Russian People's Deputies Congress Continues 57
28 Mar Session Continues *[Moscow TV]* 57
Agenda for 29 Mar Morning Session *[TASS]* 58
Further Details on Session *[Moscow TV]* 58
Roundup of 29 Mar Morning Session *[Moscow TV]* 59
'Deadlocked' Over Agenda *[TASS]* 60
Resumes After Break *[Moscow Radio]* 60
Decide on Three Points of Agenda *[Radio Rossii]* 61
Electronic Voting System Criticized *[AFP]* 61
Votes for Yeltsin Report Live Relay *[Radio Rossii]* 62
TV Reports RSFSR Congress, Moscow Scenes *[Moscow TV]* 62
Communist Group Denies Yeltsin Ousting Rumors *[TASS]* 62
Civil Defense Radio System Access Denied *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 29 Mar]* 63
Oil, Gas Industry Workers Consider Strike *[Moscow International]* 63
Comparison of Silayev on Economic Measures *[Moscow Radio]* 63

Western Republics

Kravchuk Terms Draft Treaty 'Inconsistent' *[TASS]* 63
Ukraine Nuclear Power Unit Stopped *[TASS]* 64

Caucasus

More Bloodshed Reported in South Ossetia *[TASS]* 64
Cease-fire Claims Denied *[PRAVDA 27 Mar]* 64
All Tskhinvali Bank Holdings Sent To Tbilisi *[Moscow Radio]* 65
Georgian Officer Corps Registered in Georgia *[VESTNIK GRUZII 22 Mar]* 65
New Tskhinvali Commander's Arrival Brings Hope
[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 21 Mar] 65
Georgians Appeal to Russian Intelligentsia *[VESTNIK GRUZII 21 Mar]* 66
Yeltsin, Gamsakhurdia Discuss S. Ossetia *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 27 Mar]* 67
Gamsakhurdia Queried on Goals, Media *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 20 Mar]* 67
Armenia, Russia Sign Cultural Agreement *[ARMENPRES]* 71
Georgian Law on 31 March Referendum *[VESTNIK GRUZII 21 Mar]* 71
Georgian Resolution on 31 March Referendum *[VESTNIK GRUZII 21 Mar]* 71
Former Georgia Residents Allowed to Vote *[Moscow Radio]* 71

Churkin on Arms Talks, Gorbachev-Bush Meeting

PM2803221991 Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, by correspondent E. Alekseyev; no place or date given: "When Will the Gorbachev-Bush Meeting Take Place?"]

[Text] [Alekseyev] Following the ceasefire in the Persian Gulf, it is believed that the main issue that is holding up the meeting between President M. Gorbachev and President G. Bush is the incomplete agreement on certain points in the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments. It has been reported that it is more than 90 percent completed. Is there no agreement yet on the remaining questions?

[Churkin] One might even say that the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments is 98 percent complete. But, as has happened in the past at talks on arms reductions, the final step is very difficult, although all the really fundamental treaty provisions were pretty well settled long ago. The issues participants still have to do some work on include certain aspects of verification and some inspection procedures, in particular the continuous observation of production facilities, questions of access to telemetric information and the "reduced warhead count" for ballistic missiles, and some details connected with heavy bombers. I think it is clear from this list that these are highly technical matters requiring painstaking work by experts. Both the Soviet and the U.S. sides attach special significance to the treaty on strategic offensive armaments and want everything to be carefully worked out, down to the smallest detail. It must be borne in mind that, to all appearances, this large (around 700 pages) and complex document faces a difficult ratification process both here and in the United States.

[Alekseyev] Some people in the West claim that the delay is also due to the fact that first all questions concerning conventional armaments must be tackled once and for all. However, the Soviet Union has apparently put forward some new conditions making it diffcult to reach an agreement.

[Churkin] We are not establishing any linkage between questions of conventional arms reduction and the strategic offensive armaments treaty. Although, I believe it cannot be ruled out that the difficulties that have arisen in the conventional arms sphere have caused some "sluggishness" on the part of the U.S. participants in the strategic offensive armaments talks, which their Soviet colleagues sometimes complain about. As for conventional armaments, it is not a matter of our having put forward certain conditions (this has not happened); the point is that a number of countries that signed with us in Paris the Treaty on the Reduction of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe are now questioning us about data on categories of armaments that the sides exchanged before the signing.

Recently this concern has been manifested during the discussion of these questions at the political level, in particular during the recent visits to Moscow by the U.S. secretary of state and the German and British foreign ministers. We put forward some ideas that, in our view, are a suitable key to the solution of the problem. However, extra efforts will probably be required here by the sides. We do not want to dramatize the situation and we believe that the treaty on conventional armed forces will be ratified and will enter into force, and its implmentation will lead to a sharp reduction of the level of military confrontation in Europe.

[Alekseyev] How long do you think it will take to reach the accords on disarmament questions, making it possible to set the date for the Gorbachev-Bush meeting?

[Churkin] A brief technical break has been announced at the strategic offensive armaments talks in Geneva. The delegations will meet again in mid-April. We hope that the time spent in the capitals will enable the Soviet and U.S. talks participants to gather their strength and complete the work on the treaty without delay. We believe that this can be done in a matter of weeks.

Tactical Weapons Cut Urged in Europe

PM2803145991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Mar 91 First Edition p 3

["Viewpoint" by Professor Major General V. Larionov: "We Must Go Further"]

[Text] It is my belief that perennial talks on "minimum nuclear deterrence" can only distract Europeans from finding a constructive solution to this complex question. After all, on top of everything there is still no generally recognized understanding of what "minimum nuclear deterrence" is. Why minimum? Deterrence should be highly reliable and secure. It would obviously be more accurate to talk about the minimum quantity of nuclear weapons needed to be retained to guarantee maximum deterrence of war.

Nevertheless many West European analysts and politicians still ascribe this role to tactical nuclear weapons. Some advocate retaining this class of arms in the future as a stabilizing factor. They put forward the following idea: Removing tactical nuclear weapons from Europe means automatically increasing the likelihood of unleashing, if not provoking, a conventional war in Europe.

This idea might perhaps still have attracted attention 10 years ago. But in today's Europe it is already an anachronism. Few people today fail to realize that unleashing a conventional war—irrespective of what and who provokes it—is suicidal per se. In short, a conventional war itself or, more correctly, the predicted consequences of such a war for Europe and the world as a whole act at the deterrent. If we are talking about deterring war in earnest, strategic nuclear weapons probably perform this role far more effectively and reliably.

There are also claims that tactical nuclear weapons maintain the political prestige of "small" nuclear powers that are unable to compete with the nuclear hegemonies. If these weapons are eliminated, there will be extremely palpable political dependence (Britain and France, for instance) on USSR-U.S. accords. In my view, these arguments result from the confrontational thinking of past years.

I believe that the idea of the deterrent (stabilizing) role played by tactical nuclear weapons is clearly bankrupt both from the military and the political viewpoints. Speaking about their role, I must point out that they are the most destabilizing and provocative of all types of mass-destruction weapons.

First, when talking about tactical nuclear weapons we must bear in mind that today this term also includes operational-tactical weapons, that is, weapons that perform tasks in the interests of operations.

Second, compared with strategic weapons, tactical and operational-tactical weapons are not bound to stationary positions and are more mobile. Consequently, it is harder to trace and monitor their movements.

Third, these weapons are usually found in areas controlled by army commanders and corps and even division commanders. This weakens central supreme command control over their use.

In my view, the role and status of European tactical and operational-tactical nuclear weapons will change with Europe's advance along the path of further cuts in conventional arms and confidence-building. Their importance is being devalued still further and the question of completely eliminating this class of arms will become a practical reality.

Admittedly, to be realistic, I foresee heated diplomatic battles to preserve U.S tactical nuclear weapons. I think that there can be only two decisions here: Either Europe is rendered a nuclear-free zone from the Atlantic to the Urals, or there are cuts in the fixed contingent of U.S. conventional forces with a minimum—also fixed—number of nuclear warheads in the U.S. forces and in the forces of the Soviet Union's European military districts.

A U.S. tactical nuclear counterbalance to Soviet might may in time be the only justification for retaining the U.S. military presence on the European continent. I think that the current stance held by some West European powers as regards "minimum nuclear deterrence" is based on precisely that prospect.

I agree that the process of eliminating nuclear weapons in the European theater is not a one-act or simple process. An overall ceiling of 500 delivery vehicles (or warheads) could probably be established in the initial stages, as a result of appropriate accords, with this quota allocated as follows: 100 each for the United States, Britain, and France, and 200 for the USSR. That would be a major step toward nuclear disarmament as a whole.

Within the agreed quotas those structures that have taken shape in various countries could be cut back as a whole. For the USSR that would mean operational-tactical ballistic missiles and for the United States tactical nuclear-capable naval and air force strike aviation, and so on. Securing an agreement banning the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons (particularly the Lance nuclear missiles) is extremely desirable in this context.

A change in the system of European nuclear weapons' subordination could be another step toward reaching an agreement on cutting back and eliminating European nuclear weapons. That is, all countries should withdraw these weapons from the structure of their general-purpose forces and hand them over directly to the supreme military and political leadership, as is the case with strategic nuclear forces. This step would enhance the real guarantees of nonuse of tactical nuclear weapons.

In a word, the phased destruction of tactical nuclear weapons would be a weighty contribution to the general disarmament process.

Churkin Interviewed on Soviet Reform

LD2903130891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Interview with Vitaliy Churkin, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, by editor Lubomir Zumar; place and date not given; Zumar speaks in Slovak, Churkin speaks in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer in Czech] Like yesterday, the Soviet Union is topping the foreign news section again today. We managed to record an interview on a truly topical theme with Vitaliy Churkin, press spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The point is that this week is the last one in the more than 35-years' existence of the Warsaw Pact military structures. It was precisely this occasion that prompted editor Lubomir Zumar to ask Vitaliy Churkin what could be the impact of the political and economic crisis in the Soviet Union on destabilizing the situation in Eastern Europe.

[Churkin] The situation is very complex. Speaking about the impact, well, there are two aspects. On the one hand, if some negative and dramatic events take place in the Soviet Union, it will inevitably be reflected in the situation in the world and in Europe in particular. We are aware of the fact that our responsibility rests in our successful continuation of perestroyka. On the other hand, it seems to us that other countries should take into consideration the special nature and importance of the Soviet Union's position in tackling problems of worldwide importance. They should build their relations with the Soviet Union on this basis and they should respond to the complex and painful processes taking place in our country. We, as well as you and the whole international community, are interested in seeing perestroyka succeed and we can and must develop our relations on this basis.

[Zumar] I am also interested in the parallel between the Soviet Union's attitude to the East European countries and to its own republics.

[Churkin] These are quite different matters. The economic situation in our country is very complex, nationality disputes are erupting, there are problems in the process of drafting the union treaty and in the relations between the center and the union republics. The attempts to nudge and correct constitutional processes from the outside will yield nothing good and, on the contrary, could evoke unfavourable precedents that, afterwards, will painfully affect the countries instigating these actions. A lot of sensitivity is required in this respect. The fact should be considered that we have left the cold war era, but that a stable peaceful order, or the so called all-European home, has not been created yet. A new peace structure, that would rule out any recurrence of unpleasant conflicts and disputes does not yet exist. We find ourselves in a period of transition and it is very important that at this time we maintain the core trends, the final of effect will be the attainment of a European home and a new world order.

[Zumar] Finally, what is Soviet Union's response to the rapprochment between NATO and its former East European allies.

[Churkin] Separate statements exist. We do not avoid maintaining our contacts with NATO. After all, it should not be forgotten that it was precisely our foreign minister who visited NATO headquarters in December 1989. I would like to say openly that what we want are European security structures. Europe divided into two blocs is a matter of the past and our vision of the future is that of a united Europe. This is why it seems to us that following the path of separate blocs constitutes a certain demonstration of the old way of thinking. Thinking in NATO terms has an unfavorable influence on the building of a new Europe and attempts to form some new closed security structure do not seemingly constitute an optical path leading to the creation of an all-European home.

Churkin 28 March News Conference Reported

Defends Former Bloc Leaders

LD2803173891 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Former state, political and public leaders and members of onetime ruling parties in east European countries and in former east Germany are subjected to "unjustified" persecution and abuse, reminiscent of notorious witch hunts, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaly Churkin told a briefing here today.

From a legal standpoint, such persecution contradicts the spirit and letter of the universal declaration of human rights, international human rights laws, the Paris charter and other CSCE documents.

Should abused individuals from neighbouring countries seek political asylum, their requests will be considered individually in accordance with Soviet laws, Churkin said.

Soviet authorities have started investigating archives for evidence shedding light on the fate of a Swedish Air Force DC-3 plane that disappeared in June 1952 near the Soviet border in the Baltic sea. The request was made by Sweden, the spokesman continued.

"For our part," Churkin added, "we will obviously also ask Swedes to provide us with materials from Swedish archives on both the route and the mission of the aircraft."

Churkin also told the briefing that a search for the equipment of a Swedish balloon that strayed into Soviet air space in late August 1990 would resume weather permitting.

Commenting on reports in the Swedish press that accused the Soviet side of trying to conceal and use costly equipment for reconnaissance purposes, Churkin said that a search for the balloon in September last year was terminated because of the winter and polar night.

Central America-EC Meeting Reviewed

LD2803234291 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Excerpts] The Foreign Ministry spokesman was satisfied with the outcome of the annual meeting of the foreign ministers of Central American and European Communities. The meeting in Managua was also attended by ministers of Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, and Panama. Vitaliy Churkin welcomed the support by the participants at the meeting for the idea of making Central America a zone of peace, freedom, and democracy. This support is an important stimulous for stepping up efforts to promote positive processes in the region. Vitaliy Churkin [word indistinct] the calls of the EEC ministers for demilitarizing the region and to all sides in civil conflict to look for a peaceful settlement. This call is quite topical in Central America now and we hope that the conflicting sides in El Salvador and Guatemala will duly accept it and do everything possible for speedy normalization of the situation, said the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin at the briefing in Moscow on Thursday.

On Swedish 1952 Plane Crash Request

LD2803170291 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanischev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Soviet government agencies have started investigating archives for evidence shedding light on the fate of a Swedish Air Force DC-3 plane that disappeared in June 1952 near the Soviet border in the Baltic Sea. The request was made by Sweden, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing in Moscow today.

Both Swedish and Soviet press recently started publishing materials connected with the disappearance of the aircraft. It is asserted, in particular, that the aircraft was shot down by Soviet Air-Defense Forces. Referring to one of the publications, the Swedish Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Soviet Embassy in that country on March 12, 1991, and asked Soviet authorities to investigate the circumstances.

Churkin told the briefing that the Soviet Union realised "the humanitarian motives" of the request, because members of the crew disappeared and their relatives were concerned about their fates. Soviet authorities have started checking out information that could be related to the fate of the Swedish crew.

"For our part," Churkin added, "we will obviously also ask Swedes to provide us with materials from Swedish archives on both the route and mission of the aircraft. To a certain degree, the question is posed in this way because of a recent statement by Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson who said that the Swedish Air Force was engaged in reconnaissance actions against the USSR in the early 1950s."

TASS Reports 27 March Churkin News Briefing

Talks in Tunisia With 'Arafat

LD2703144191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1407 GMT 27 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar (TASS)—A session of the Soviet-Palestinian Near East Committee is to take place in Tunisia 28-29 March. In reporting this to journalists, Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, elaborated by saying that the Soviet Union is to be represented at the session by Vasiliy Kolotusha, the head of the Near East and North Africa Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Within the framework of the session, the Soviet representative is to have discussions with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, and other Palestinian leaders. Vitaliy Churkin emphasized that these contacts are taking place by mutual agreement on the basis of a common understanding of the need to activate the forces aiming to begin the peace process in the Near East as soon as possible after the end of the Kuwaiti crisis. In the words of the diplomat, the goal should be a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and a just resolution of the Palestinian problem.

Preparations for Upcoming Summits

LD2703140191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 27 Mar 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar (TASS)—By agreement with the Chinese side, the next landmark event in Soviet-Chinese relations will be the official visit to the Soviet Union by the highest party and state leader of the PRC Jiang Zemin, planned for May this year. Chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Vitaliy Churkin announced this today at a briefing, reporting on the trip to the Far East by USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, which begins tomorrow, and during which he will pay visits to Japan and China.

First, said Vitaliy Churkin, will be the visit to Tokyo 29-31 March. Its aim is to prepare for the visit to Japan by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. In the words of

the diplomat, preparations for the trip by the Soviet head of state "are reaching completion." On behalf of the Soviet side he expressed hope for "intensive and fruitful talks in Tokyo."

In the period 31 March-2 April, continued the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry, Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh will pay a working visit to Beijing. "It is proposed," said Vitaliy Churkin, "that during the meetings there will be an exchange of views on certain questions of bilateral relations in the context of preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, and also on international problems of mutual interest."

Najibullah's Proposals Viewed

LD2703152391 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 27 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—A recent appeal by President Najibullah to the Afghan people "is further evidence of the Afghan Government's sincere desire to find ways for the earliest possible end to the bloodshed in Afghanistan," Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

According to the spokesman, new constructive initiatives also confirm the readiness of the Afghan leadership for a dialogue and efficient cooperation with all Afghan political forces and foreign states.

Churkin called as "important" the president's proposals to declare provinces, hardest hit by hostilities, as zones of peace, to permit only political, economic and cultural activities there and to ban arms supplies to them.

The spokesman expressed hope that this peaceful call will, at long last, be heard by those who are really interested in restoring stability and calm to Afghanistan.

Regret Expressed Over Coup in Mali

LD2703153391 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 27 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—The recent events in the capital of Mali, Bamako, in which President Moussa Traore was removed from his post and power was handed over to the National Reconciliation Council, are "an exclusive internal affair of Malians", Soviet spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing in Moscow today.

At the same time, Churkin expressed regret over the fact that dramatic events in the streets of the capital and other cities of Mali had caused a bloodshed. In the Soviet Union, he continued, people hope that the internal problems of Mali, with which the Soviet Union has long-standing good relations, will be solved by peaceful means, on the basis of dialogue.

Churkin said there were no casualties among the Soviet staff and their dependents in that African country.

Military Advisers Released

LD2703155691 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 27 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—A Foreign Ministry spokesman commented on the release of Ye. Churayev, Yu. Kalistratov, and A. Kuvaldin, the three Soviet military advisers captured in Ethiopia by the National Front for the Liberation of Eritrea in March 1988.

He recalled that Soviet military specialists worked in Ethiopia in accordance with intergovernmental agreements and neither took part in combat operations nor were kept prisoners by Eritreans. Diplomatic efforts to attain their release did not cease from the moment of the capture of the officers.

Efforts were undertaken by the Soviet Foreign and Defense Ministries in many, sometimes unexpected, areas. In particular, appeals for assistance in releasing the prisoners were sent to Governments of the U.S., Italy, Canada, Sweden, many Arab countries and international organisations. For this purpose, direct contacts were also established with the front's leadership as well. The Soviet side also expressed gratitude for the participation in settling this humanitarian problem to the U.S. Administration and Sudan leadership.

In connection with the success of the efforts to release the Soviet nationals, Churkin expressed hope that realism and desire to find constructive decisions, which manifested themselves in this case, will be used in the peaceful settlement of the conflict in Ethiopia and ending the bloodshed there. He also recalled that resuming the negotiating process in Ethiopia was discussed in Moscow on Tuesday by Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksander Bessmertnykh and his Ethiopian counterpart Tesfaye Dinka.

United States & Canada

Fire at U.S. Embassy; Access Denied 40 Minutes

LD2803171291 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—A fire erupted in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow this morning, believed to have been caused by a spark during welding operations, a spokesman for the city's fire service told TASS.

Nikolay Zamotayev said the blaze started at 10:18 Moscow time and was put out at 12:32. A commission is investigating the fire.

Six fire engines rushed to the site after a Muscovite, who identified herself as Guseva, called the fire service at 10:18 to say the U.S. Embassy in Tchaikovsky Street was on fire.

When the fire engines arrived at 10:23, a lift shaft attached to the Chancery was burning from the first to the last, or tenth, floor and the fire was spreading into the embassy and its attic.

Since the embassy administration prevented the firemen for more than 40 minutes from entering the building, they had to operate from the ground, using water hoses. Twenty more fire engines were sent to the scene.

When the firemen were finally allowed in, the fire was raging in the attic and 18 water hoses were pulled up there along inner staircases.

The blaze was localised at 12:22 and quenched altogether at 12:32. All in all, 180 firemen and 26 fire engines took part in fighting it.

The fire gutted 800 square metres of the lift well and the attic.

Bessmertnykh, U.S. Official Discuss Embassies

PM2803131991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 91 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] The same day [26 March] A.A. Bessmertnykh [USSR Foreign Minister] welcomed I. Selin, U.S. under secretary of state for management.

On 26 March U.S. Under Secretary of State I. Selin, now in Moscow, was welcomed by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Obukhov. During talks conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding both sides made particular mention of the progress in Soviet-U.S. consultations on the question of new administrative buildings for the USSR and U.S. embassies in Washington and Moscow.

Northeast Asia

Reports Continue on Visit by Japan's Ozawa

Meeting With Yanayev Noted

PM2803150991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 91 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Soviet-Japanese Dialogue"]

[Text] On 26 March a meeting took place between USSR Vice President G.I. Yanayev and I. Ozawa, general secretary of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party.

During the talk there was a detailed discussion of the USSR president's forthcoming visit to Japan and of the sides' readiness to make this event a decisive one in the further development of Soviet-Japanese relations. Note was taken of the great need for an innovatory view of existing problems and a flexible, constructive approach toward their solution.

The talk was frank and amicable and showed the sides' deep interest in active collaboration.

PRAVDA on Gorbachev Talks

PM2703144391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 91 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[TASS report: "Meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and I. Ozawa"]

[Text] On 25 March M.S. Gorbachev met with Ichiro Ozawa, general secretary of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, at the CPSU Central Committee. After exchanging greetings, the president immediately proposed that they discuss what they can do in both the party and state spheres to ensure that the forthcoming visit to Japan is successful for both sides while remaining within the context of the domestic situation in both countries and the world situation.

The long-standing approach based on "preliminary conditions" merely proved, M.S. Gorbachev reiterated, that "we could live without each other." As a result Soviet-Japanese relations have fallen far behind the level of the USSR's relations with major countries equal in importance to Japan and with many others, including some with which the basic preconditions for normalization were less favorable. A huge discrepancy has come about between the state of Soviet-Japanese relations and their vast potential.

I. Ozawa, agreeing with this assessment and with the view that the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations would bring great benefit not only to the two countries but to the whole world too, cited the only obstacle here—the "northern territories" problem. This question is indeed so red-hot in both countries that "you cannot tackle it with bare hands," M.S. Gorbachev responded. Without denying the existence of the problem, he asked

his interlocutor to consider historical realities. Let us cooperate and move toward one another, he said, seek ways to enrich our relations by including more and more new elements in them, raise them to a new level, develop cooperation in all areas, and create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence. In this way we will help history—both in the short term and the longer term—to solve any questions as it has already done on a number of similar occasions. Soviet-Japanese ties, especially recently, have been expanding and are being pursued at a high political and social level and simply between ordinary people. There have been favorable outcomes to the sensitive problem of former prisoners of war and on the problems of fishing and a number of scientific-technical and ecological matters.

The new thinking to which I. Ozawa repeatedly appealed was not born in a vacuum either. It is the result of the analysis and comprehension of the new reality and processes which have developed in the world. For it to "work" effectively, it must not be divorced from reality or from the interests of each individual affected by a particular problem.

M.S. Gorbachev announced that he is preparing thoroughly for his visit, consulting with specialists, and pondering the results of his many contacts with Japanese representatives—personal and professional. Work on all the questions on the agenda and the program of the visit reflects an understanding of the complexity of many of them and takes into account their dramatic origin and psychological perception by the two countries' peoples today. This work will be finalized in the weeks before the visit.

The only thing which can be said now, the president noted, is that we favor a new dynamism in talks on the peace treaty during which we are ready to examine and resolve all questions on the fairest possible basis. I am sure, he added, that a renunciation of "hard-line" positions will bring us closer to truly good-neighborly relations befitting two such countries.

During the conversation mention was made of the significance of Soviet-Japanese cooperation for the whole Asia-Pacific region. M.S. Gorbachev recalled the ideas which he expressed in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, noted interesting aspects in bilateral and multilateral relations among the Asian and Pacific countries in the years since then, and advocated that the discussions in Tokyo consider thoroughly the prospects for the North-South peace process, in which mankind expects very important openings and achievements but where dangerous explosive material is building up. I. Ozawa stressed this theme and advocated Japanese-Soviet collaboration on Asia-Pacific problems. He believes that first it is necessary to resolve conflict problems in the region.

During the conversation the sides noted the crucial role of Soviet-U.S. relations for world policy and the new level of the two states' collaboration and cooperation with China, India, South and North Korea, the ASEAN countries, and other states influential in Asian and international policy.

We are not excluding from the agenda of the visit a single question from the vast range of Soviet-Japanese relations, M.S. Gorbachev stressed. But the Japanese principle of the "inseparability of economics and politics" may be interpreted in the following way: The better economic relations are, the better political affairs will proceed, too.

M.S. Gorbachev welcomed the development of interparty ties between the CPSU and the Liberal Democratic Party. Having overcome the ideological syndrome, they have embarked on dialogue on questions common to them and the entire international community.

In conclusion, the president stated that he is going to Japan on a mission of friendship and respect for the Japanese people and with a desire to develop links in all areas bearing in mind the complex historical context at the moment, including the history of Soviet-Japanese relations.

The meeting was attended by V.M. Falin, A.S. Chernyayev, K.N. Brutents, H. Kumagai, S. Edamura, and K. Togo.

Ozawa Interviewed

OW2803114891 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 27 Mar 91

[Interview with Ichiro Ozawa, secretary general of the Japanese ruling Liberal Democratic Party, LDP, by station reporter Sidorov, in Moscow on the evening of 26 March—recorded]

[Text] [Sidorov] Mr. Ozawa, I believe that this is your first visit to the Soviet Union in your capacity as secretary general of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP]. How many times have you visited the Soviet Union?

[Ozawa] I am visiting the Soviet Union for the first time in 20 years.

[Sidorov] Your visit to Moscow is regarded here as a visit by a high-ranking Japanese official. During your stay in Moscow, you held two rounds of talks with the Soviet president. You also held talks with Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev and CPSU Deputy General Secretary Vladimir Ivashko. Do you think that your visit has been fruitful?

[Ozawa] That is what I want to say. I have said that I hope my current visit to Moscow and the series of talks between me and the Soviet leaders will provide momentum for opening a genuinely new page in the history between Japan and the Soviet Union. During a series of talks, the president and other Soviet leaders told me that something should be done for Japanese-Soviet relations, and expressed their sincere hopes for resolving issues pending between the two countries. I believe that

the promotion of Japanese-Soviet cooperation is not a bilateral issue, but something that can be very beneficial for both Asia and the entire world. I hope that Japan and the Soviet Union will promote further their relations of friendship, with my current visit to Moscow as a turning point, and I am confident that they will do so in the future.

[Sidorov] Your talks with President Gorbachev lasted for approximately three hours. Would you describe the atmosphere at the talks?

[Ozawa] During the talks, the president said at various times that he wants to resolve the territorial issue and to make progress with sincerity. I took the president's remarks at face value. We also hope to promote Japanese-Soviet relations further. I firmly believe that the enthusiasm harbored by the two countries certainly will make it possible for them to remove the obstacles that are lying in front of them and to build up their relations of friendship.

[Sidorov] There are unresolved issues between the two countries, and both appear to recognize their existence. Do you believe that the time is ripe for the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two countries?

[Ozawa] Given the political situation in the two countries and the world situation, this is the best time for the two countries to develop their relations of friendship and cooperation after concluding a peace treaty. If they waste this chance, they will be unable to find such an opportunity in the near future. I sincerely hope that the talks between the two countries will produce fruitful results, taking advantage of this best opportunity.

[Sidorov] During the talks, was the issue of economic cooperation between the two countries brought up for discussion?

[Ozawa] The issue of economic cooperation was not brought up at the talks. I believe that the issues of economic cooperation and personnel and cultural exchanges will be discussed between the two countries after political obstacles existing between them are removed and a peace treaty is signed. I believe that the two countries will be able to resolve all of these issues with sincerity.

[Sidorov] Such party officials as Mr. [words indistinct] and Mr. Yanayev will become members of the Politburo. What do you think of the future relationship between the CPSU and the ruling LDP?

[Ozawa] Party officials, including the president, expressed hopes that the CPSU and the LDP, the ruling party in Japan, will continue their dialogue to build up a relationship of trust between the two parties. I intend to do my utmost to that end in the future.

[Sidorov] Were there any specific proposals raised at the talks? For example, youth exchanges between the two countries.

[Ozawa] Mr. Abe made that proposal when he visited the Soviet Union. Such exchanges are now under way between our two countries. I intend to make efforts to continue such exchanges in the future.

[Sidorov] So, you believe that such exchanges should be continued?

[Ozawa] Yes.

[Sidorov] You are visiting Moscow for the first time in 20 years. What are your impressions?

[Ozawa] I held a series of talks with the president and other Soviet leaders in a sincere and warm atmosphere. I am satisfied with the results of the talks, and I enjoyed my visit to Moscow.

Gorbachev Interviewed

OW2803091891 Tokyo KYODO in English 0833 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, March 28 KYODO—Following are excerpts from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's remarks in an interview Wednesday with KYODO NEWS SERVICE President Shinji Sakai. (this is an unofficial translation from Russian into English by KYODO NEWS SERVICE).

Question: I would like to start by asking you about your two approaches to improving Japanese-Soviet relations as related in the two rounds of talks you had with the secretary general of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party, Ichiro Ozawa, earlier this week in Moscow.

Answer: Let me tell you that the two discussions I had with Mr. Ozawa were a substantial dialogue. I think we were able to establish a good rapport from the very beginning.

The atmosphere was good, which enabled us to discuss all problems candidly, in a spirit of mutual respect. So I would single out those meetings, in view of their substantive nature and effectiveness.

You are right in saying that I spoke of two approaches. In this connection, I referred to all manner of precedents.

Of course, much is connected with developments in the Soviet Union. But if there hadn't been Helsinki and everything that had preceded it, it would be hard even for the incumbent leadership of this country, with all its broad outlook, to reach the current level of political thinking and adopt new approaches in foreign policies.

This is why I say let us advance also in our relations (with Japan)—develop contacts and reach a new level of political dialogue, economic cooperation, and cultural links, and foster, as a result of this, a different atmosphere, an atmosphere of trust.

In this atmosphere, there will be impulses to expand our relationship even further, scaling new frontiers and opening new horizons.

With this kind of approach, I take quite a normal view of the formula connecting politics and economics. Yes, politics influences economics. But doesn't the economy influence policies? So there is a relationship....

This is why I favor reciprocal movement, the discussion of all issues, including the work on a peace treaty. I think we will complete the discussion of all issues, including the territorial issue.

Q.: The Soviet Government has acknowledged the existence of a territorial dispute with Japan for the first time since 1956.

A.: As the top leader of the Soviet state, I have said that we are prepared to discuss all issues, including the territorial one. This is somewhat different from what has been said so far.

When concluding a peace treaty, we will have to consider all issues, including border issues. I am afraid we haven't cut off any territory from Hokkaido. This is the main thing that bothers me. (laughter)

I believe we will be able to draw the border correctly. I think we need to meet each other halfway and advance cooperation, including cooperation concerning these territories and adjacent seas.

I can see that you understand the context in which we act, both the Japanese and the Soviet side. The Japanese side contends that there is a territorial issue and says Japan expects some islands to be returned.

On our side, there are opposite judgments and opinions, including the results of the latest polls in the Soviet Union. You have apparently noticed this too. The inhabitants of these islands reveal a definite stand and have their own judgment.

Generally, under the first approach, we have proved that we (the Soviet Union and Japan) can live without each other. In general, nothing has happened. Our relationship is not bad. We can leave it as it is.

But I can see that our relations with China are making very fast progress. We are now cooperating with both Koreas, with Thailand, Indonesia, ASEAN, Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand, not to mention India.

We are cooperating with the Americans: They too are a Pacific power. So why can't we develop relations with Japan? We are prepared for this. Reciprocal progress is necessary.

Q.: In your talks with Mr. Ozawa, you predicted a dynamic movement toward a peace treaty during your visit to Japan.

A.: I told Mr. Ozawa that compared with our discussions, no surprises are expected in Tokyo. Unless, of course, the Japanese come up with something: surprises can be on either side. No, we are prepared for a very in-depth exchange of opinions on every issue without exception. This is our position.

If any calculations are made on the assumption that the Soviet Union is finding the sailing rough as it goes through restructuring and so perhaps the Soviet Union and Gorbachev have grown weaker and he goes to Japan weakened, this is a delusion.

There is vast room for cooperation (between Japan and the Soviet Union). Cooperation presupposes goodwill on both sides. We have it.

If there are shifts in the Japanese position, cooperation will pick up. If there aren't any, we shall continue to live as we have been. Nothing much will happen. But we won't go to war.

Q.: Could you comment on a possible deal linking the territorial issue with Japanese-Soviet economic cooperation?

A.: I think this is not in general a matter for bargaining, but a matter for negotiations.

Q.: There are discussions in Japan on prospects of long-term economic cooperation.

A.: I still have to explore it. Much is being said, but there is nothing substantive. I have heard a great deal about discussions that are going on. If nothing follows them, it is hard to speak about their significance.

I would welcome a constructive, farsighted, and sustained position on these issues by the Japanese Government.

Look how absurd it is that two neighboring countries, two great peoples, maintain a degree of cooperation that is totally out of proportion with their possibilities.

Let us live, cooperate, come to know each other, discuss everything, including issues, including those which you consider outstanding and we consider settled.

Nonetheless, since you consider them outstanding, let us discuss them. Let us move forward and see.

I would like to convey through you and your news agency the feelings of respect and affection entertained by our people toward your people.

I proceed from the premise that my visit to Japan will help make our relations better. I am going to Japan with a desire to promote our relations to a higher level and looking forward to my meetings in Japan.

Q.: What relationship do you see between the Japan-U.S. security arrangements and your own concept of Asian security?

A.: When we discussed in Europe the future of military-political blocs in view of progress toward a collective security concept, we said, "Ok, let us not start with disbanding these blocs. Let us further this European

(CSCE) process and change the nature of the existing alliances, adapting them to the interests of collective security."

I think that if this process carries on—and not only we but also the United States will be indispensable participants in it—it will be possible to discuss and resolve all aspects of movement toward a new security structure, dovetailing them with existing realities and advancing to new realities.

Following are excerpts from Gorbachev's written replies to questions submitted in writing by KYODO.

Question: What is your view of recent changes in the West's attitude toward the Soviet Union, and on the prospects for bilateral relations and a settlement of the northern territories dispute during your upcoming trip to Japan?

Answer: to say that the world as whole has been changing in recent years would be more precise. The Cold War has become a thing of the past. A fundamentally new international order is in the process of taking shape.

It is founded on the Soviet Union's agreements with the United States and various Western European countries, the Paris Charter for a New Europe, and known agreements on disarmament. There are also new trends in the Asia-Pacific region.

The effect of such changes has also appeared in Soviet-Japanese ties. The state of relations between the two major powers within the context of the international process will largely determine the shape of the world community, not just the Asia-Pacific region, as they enter the 21st century.

During my visit to Japan, I expect thorough and frank discussions on all matters that must be resolved. These include bilateral Soviet-japanese relations, problems of world politics and economics, and regional conflicts.

More than 15 agreements and other documents are being prepared for signing.

Work on the draft of a peace treaty is also in progress. Agreement has already been reached on a number of key points. Namely, that the treaty must bring a final postwar settlement between the Soviet Union and Japan, that it must harm no one's security, and that it should shape the long-term prospects for the development of Soviet-Japanese ties on a friendly basis.

We have not come to agreement on all approaches, but the process of joint analysis and consideration of the mutual circumstances must continue.

I am convinced that what is the most important thing to the Soviet Union and Japan now is to establish a new relationship, one that is based on profound trust and mutually beneficial cooperation.

It will then be easier to find solutions to problems, no matter how daunting they may seem now. I hope that the Soviet-Japan summit will become a watershed in building a new Soviet-Japan relationship.

Q.: What are your views on economic cooperation between Japan and the Soviet Union?

A.: There are not a few achievements in the economic relationship between the Soviet Union and Japan. Suffice it to mention the joint projects to develop natural resources in Siberia and the Far East, the Vostochnyy Port (in Nakhodka), and large-scale industrial plants.

Taken as a whole, the volume of our economic relations is not sufficient in terms of the possibilities and needs of our two countries.

Actually, economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Japan can bear fruit in a variety of fields.

The Persian Gulf crisis has made us realize that it is necessary to acquire energy supplies from a number of reliable sources. Therefore, I think it is important to reopen negotiations on joint development of oil and gas fields on Sakhalin.

Other areas of cooperation which should be taken up are preventing, and dealing with the effect of, natural calamities and environmental disasters, space exploration, basic sciences, and the development of new machinery, materials, and technology.

Also, the conversion of military industries to civilian use holds great possibilities. We on our part have removed many restrictions by our "domestic Cocom." If our countries make reciprocal moves in this field, it would be extremely productive.

We favor exchanges of experience in economic reform and personnel training in business management and market economics.

The Soviet Union and Japan could also become partners in establishing a subregional cooperation zone in the area of the Sea of Japan. The economies of the countries on its shores are mutually complementary. By pooling their efforts, all participating nations can bring economic benefits to themselves.

The Soviet Union and Japan together account for at least 20 percent of the world's industrial output and a sizable share of its science and technology potential. It goes without saying how much the Soviet Union and Japan can contribute to economic progress in the world if cooperation between our two countries can reach a new level.

Q.: What are your impressions of Japan's history and culture?

A.: The Japanese people have made such a tangible contribution to civilization that interest in their history and culture keeps on growing throughout the world.

The attitude the Japanese people take toward their own history and culture deserves our respect. Herein lies one of the secrets of the great Japanese success in the field of the economy, and science and technology.

I am looking forward to the opportunity of making a firsthand acquaintance with both ancient and modern Japanese culture during my visit to Japan.

Q.: How do you see the post-Gulf war world order?

A.: The Persian Gulf crisis was a major test (to the world order). A blow was dealt at sovereign Kuwait. A challenge was also thrown at the entire international community just as it was taking the first steps toward a new world order.

In a broad sense, the Iraq-Kuwait conflict posed the following question: Do the international community and its representative organ, the United Nations, have enough determination and cohesion to enforce the principles laid down in the United Nations charter?

I think the world community as a whole has passed this difficult test honorably. A precedent has been created which may not yet be perfect in every aspect but gives grounds for hoping that the new principles in world politics will continue to gain ground.

The end of the Gulf war, however, was merely the first step in resolving the crisis (in the region). An uphill path to a settlement still lies ahead. The United Nations still needs to play the primary role in these efforts.

Of course, economic rehabilitation and a reliable regional security system based on reasonable demilitarization, the renunciation of weapons of mass destruction, and on balanced interests, cannot be achieved without overcoming the Arab-Israel confrontation and securing a fair solution to the Palestinian problem.

I would like to emphasize here one idea that I have expressed many times before, and which the Gulf crisis has made so vivid again.

With the modern world being increasingly interconnected and interdependent, it is impossible to achieve calm and prosperity in just some parts of the world.

Europe, the Middle and Near East, Southeast Asia, the whole Asian-Pacific region, and North and South America must establish a single security system that encompasses all continents.

It is good that the Soviet Union and Japan held close positions, and consulted each other, on the Gulf war.

The exchange of views on Middle Eastern problems with a view to achieving an enduring settlement will be continued during my visit to Japan.

Q.: Could you say something about the former Japanese prisoners of war detained in Siberia?

A.: War is the biggest tragedy. Lives are lost. Unspeakable wounds remain for many years in the hearts of those who survived.

We cannot remake or rewrite the history of relations between our two nations. Unfortunately, there are not a few sad pages in it. In the first 45 years of this century, there were at least five wars or armed clashes.

Many people who were killed or died while taken prisoner, were buried far away from their motherland—our soldiers in Japan and Japanese soldiers in the Soviet Union.

I know that the Japanese are taking good care of the graves of Russian soldiers who died from injuries or diseases after they were captured during the 1904-1905 war.

For our part, we are ready to take all measures to settle the problem of former Japanese prisoners of war and their burial grounds.

The Japanese people have been granted the possibility to visit the graves of their kin in the Soviet Union, including those buried on Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. Procedures for getting respective permission have been simplified.

During my visit to Japan, I will hand over a list of (Japanese) prisoners of war who died and were buried in our country. There are plans to sign a special agreement on all these matters.

A.: What is your view about developing the economic and cultural potential between Japan and the Soviet Far East?

Q.: The (Soviet) Far East, is naturally seeking close ties with Japan. This region leads the way in the Soviet Union in setting up sister-city ties with Japan.

The people living in the border areas of the two nations are showing an increasing desire to communicate and live like good neighbors.

The names of Konstantin Skoropyshny and other Soviet children whose lives were saved by Japanese doctors have become symbols of friendship between the residents in the (Soviet) Far East and Hokkaido.

With the growth of mutual goodwill, the development of abundant natural resources in the Far East should benefit both sides.

It is natural that there is mutual interest in rational utilization, protection, and reproduction of abundant fishery and other aquatic resources in the region.

The growing boom in tourism stimulates cooperation in developing relevant facilities in the Far East. There is also great potential in scientific and cultural exchanges. We are thinking of turning the region into a center of modern science, education, and culture. The idea of

setting up a Soviet-Japanese University in the (Soviet) Far East is worth supporting.

The interest in mutual exchanges and cooperation raises the question of opening new consulates, setting up an efficient telecommunications system, and opening new air and shipping routes between cities in the Soviet Far East and in western and northern regions of Japan.

The potential to create really strong and mutually beneficial relations between the Soviet Far East and Japan is great. As it grows, it will definitely contribute toward the development of overall Soviet-Japanese relations and help strengthen the trust and mutual understanding of the great peoples of the two countries.

Ignatenko Denies Japan Cash-for-Kurils Offer

LD2803150791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Mar 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Ignatenko, head of the USSR president's press service, has rejected rumors that Ichiro Ozawa, secretary general of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Japan, allegedly offered the Soviet Union $28 billion to acknowledge Japanese sovereignty over four islands of the Kurils ridge. Vitaliy Ignatenko said that the question of any credits to the Soviet Union on the part of Japan was not touched upon during the meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ichiro Ozawa.

Committee Organized for Gorbachev's Japan Visit

LD2803154291 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kuchko]

[Text] Tokyo March 28 TASS—A public committee to organise the meeting of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev during his forthcoming visit to Japan was set up here today.

The committee includes 100 prominent political and public leaders, legislators, business representatives, trade union and cultural figures and scholars. Former Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe was elected committee chairman.

"We welcome Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival in the middle of April and hope that the first visit in the history of Japanese-Soviet relations of a Soviet head of state to Japan would be a major starting point in the establishment of goodneighbourly relations between our two nations," Committee Executive Secretary and former Cabinet Secretary General Keizo Obuchi told TASS.

"We want the Soviet Union and Japan to enter the 21st century as good neighbours," he said.

Near East & South Asia

Ambassador To Kuwait Discusses Soviets' Return

PM2803123491 Cairo AL-ANBA' in Arabic 24 Mar 91 p 3

[Unattributed interview with Soviet Ambassador to Kuwait Ernest Zverev in Moscow; date not given"—formerly Kuwait AL-ANBA']

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [AL-ANBA'] When will you and the embassy staff return to liberated Kuwait?

[Zverev] Within a matter of days, or a few weeks at the most. My government has reached a decision regarding my return to the State of Kuwait. The technical aspects are now being discussed to choose the best means of getting there. A group of embassy staff headed by First Secretary Vendiyev [as transliterated]—who was the last one to leave Kuwait after the Iraqi occupation—will arrive there first. The group will include a number of diplomats and technicians. Once the Embassy's condition and needs have been determined and once it has been decided what needs to be done, I will join them a week later. The same applies to the Soviet journalists accredited in Kuwait, who are eager to resume their media activities in your generous country.

[AL-ANBA'] Are the Soviet experts and workers who worked in Kuwait expected to return soon?

[Zverev] If there is a need for their return, they will return immediately. We will discuss that question in detail with officials in Kuwait. This, in the knowledge that there were 750 Soviet nationals there before the occupation. They included workers, specialists, and their families, in addition to 50 Soviet women married to Kuwaiti citizens resident in Kuwait. We have insufficient information about the Embassy's condition. We just know that it was not destroyed. As for its condition inside, no one knows anything about it, since none of us has entered it since the invading forces withdrew. [passage omitted]

[AL-ANBA'] How do you see Iraq's future, in view of the results of the liberation of Kuwait and the sweeping people's uprising in Iraq?

[Zverev] The unstable situation in Iraq complicates the picture. So it is difficult to talk now about its future. In our view, Iraq should remain an independent, sovereign state, with its territorial integrity preserved. This, because we are against Lebanonizing Iraq and against partitioning it. We are for the establishment of democracy and a free life for the people of Iraq. We also emphasize that the Iraqi state should be part of the Arab security system whose main outlines were drawn up by the eight Arab states and announced in the Damascus declaration.

[AL-ANBA'] Incidentally, how would you assess the Damascus declaration?

[Zverev] We believe that the Arab Gulf states' meeting with Egypt and Syria to resolve the situation after the crisis is itself a positive thing. In our view, the results of the Damascus meetings have strengthened the unity of the forces that emerged in the Arab world during the crisis. The Damascus declaration lays down a legal and organizational foundation for future Arab action, especially among the Arab states that participated in the alliance against the Iraqi aggression. This is a good base for an alliance among the Arab Gulf states, Egypt, and Syria in order to play a leading role in determining the region's future. The guarantee of the Egyptian and Syrian forces' participation in a peacekeeping force constitutes a good nucleus. The Damascus declaration also included a positive and clear proposal about the Middle East issue, since it emphasized that once the Kuwait crisis has been resolved there will be favorable conditions for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict—and the right framework for this is an international conference under UN auspices.

In brief, the Damascus declaration has strengthened the foundations of solidarity among the participating states and has enhanced their role in resolving the region's problems after the war.

[AL-ANBA'] Have the Soviet initiatives concerning the battle to liberate Kuwait affected relations between Moscow and Washington?

[Zverev] The recent initiatives have not seriously affected relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. In Baker's recent talks in Moscow the part allocated to the Gulf was positive, practical, and constructive. We have the impression that Washington wishes to continue the good cooperation that emerged between us and the Americans during the crisis and that the United States does not believe that the region's problems can be resolved without Moscow's effective participation. We were shoulder to shoulder with the Americans during the crisis, and we will continue that cooperation. We believe that measures must be taken to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict and that we must work together to limit the proliferation of weapons in the region and to destroy the weapons of mass destruction. It is clear that Moscow and Washington will cooperate in that field. Although the views on this or that issue are likely, or more than likely, to be confirmed, what is important is that the leaders of the two countries are anxious not to repeat past mistakes.

[AL-ANBA'] Will the Soviet Union continue to arm its allies in the region, as it did in the past?

[Zverev] The region's states imported weapons from states other than the Soviet Union. So the solution of that issue by one side would be illogical. The solution must be a collective one, and all the states that export weapons to the region must express a sincere desire to halt the arms race in the Middle East.

[AL-ANBA'] What are your plans for developing your relations with liberated Kuwait?

[Zverev] Our relations with Kuwait in all fields before the Iraqi aggression reached good levels. We are determined to develop them once conditions in that friendly country have stabilized. We hope that its wounds, which have saddened us, will heal as soon as possible. During his recent visit to Moscow two weeks before the liberation Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad emphasized to me Kuwait's desire to develop its relations with our country, pointing out in that regard that Kuwait sees Moscow as a principal partner in resolving the region's problems—and this pleases us.

Our establishments are willing to participate in rebuilding Kuwait. I can only say that Soviet-Kuwaiti relations have been built stone by stone and in a quiet and ideal manner since Kuwait's independence. There is excellent mutual trust which we are eager to enhance. We are also eager to develop the cordial relations between our two countries.

Commentary Examines UN Postwar Resolution

LD2803143991 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Consultations on problems of a postwar settlement in the Persian Gulf continue at the United Nations Security Council. The discussion is underway of a draft resolution that will allow to officially introduce a cease-fire agreement. The resolution calls for Iraq's actual demilitarization (?of imposing enormous restoration) of that country. It can be recorded as a first step towards a postwar settlement. But what will happen next? Yuriy Solton's opinion is as follows, and this is what he writes:

As soon as Baghdad accepts the resolution, and it is expected it will be approved at the end of this or early next week, the mass withdrawal of the anti-Iraq coalition troops will begin from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iraq to leave. What worries many is if all the troops will actually leave the Persian Gulf area.

This concern arose not by itself. There is a lot of talk, especially in the United States, about the need to preserve foreign military presence in the area in order to prevent the outbreak of armed conflicts in the future. It is true that Washington has declared officially that the United States has no intention to deploy its ground forces on a permanent basis in the region. But Pentagon officials declare that it is necessary to preserve a U.S. naval force in the Gulf. Opportunities are studied for building American military bases in the regional countries. The operational part of the General Staff of the American Central Command is expected to be transferred to the Middle East.

May I recall at this state, however, that the U.S. Central Command was set up in January 1983 and its activity spread within 19 countries of the Middle East and South East Asia, as well as into North and East Africa. One gets the impression that Washington would like to take advantage of the fruits of the common victory over the

Iraqi aggressor, maintain its military presence in the region, and secure an opportunity to exert pressure on the regional countries.

But even if we assume that all these plans are dictated by the lofty aim—this is to preserve peace—they will inevitably cause an opposite reaction. Peace cannot be imposed on anyone without the help of weapons, especially foreign ones [as heard]. Moscow however believes that regional countries should play a crucial role in a postwar settlement. As for a foreign military presence it should not exceed the level that existed before August of last year. If at some stage outside military support will be required, then, as Moscow believes, United Nations forces can be used for the purpose with the involvement of contingents provided by Arab, Muslim, and other countries. A naval force could also operate under the United Nations flag to ensure the navigation safety in the Persian Gulf.

In general, a new level of trust existing between the permanent members of the UN Security Council again brings the question of the involvement of the United Nations military staff committee into a new crisis situation. The establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East and in South East Asia is a time-consuming and difficult process. None of the countries of the anti-Iraq coalition, whatever opportunities it has, can take the entire responsibility for the process upon itself. Common consent is required. Here, as at the time of the anti-Iraq operations, the coordinating, guiding role of the United Nations Organization is indespensable, Yuriy Solton writes in conclusion.

'Permanent' U.S. Presence in Gulf Opposed

LD2903033391 Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] When the Americans were sent to the Gulf region and when the United Nations took decisions to oppose the Iraqi aggression, it was out of the question then that it will start the American permanent military presence in the region; the more so, the White House said then that the United States was not going to set up in the region their military bases and keep troops there after the liberation of Kuwait.

It seems that now Washington deviates from its former promises. Though some representatives of the administration deny the reports in the press, nevertheless many things prove that plans are being developed for a permanent military presence.

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell, in an interview to the newspaper USA TODAY, said that the United States needs a greater presence in the region than the presence they had before the operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm. His words could also be attributed to the Air Force and the navy and to arms warehouses.

Other representatives of the Pentagon said that it was planned to hold regular military exercises—in particular landing operations. In this connection, the ABC Television Network said that similar operations would actually mean the permanent presence of the American ground forces in the Gulf region. With reference to the Pentagon it was also reported about the future setting up of the American military bases in Bahrain and at one of the Kuwaiti islands, and about the fact that part of the headquarters of the American military command in Tampa, Florida, will be permanently located in the region.

A question arises: In what measure will all these American military plans serve the strengthening of the international security? Many things here cannot but arouse doubts. First of all, there is a deep prejudice in the Arab countries against the Western permanent military presence. Now, after the victory in the Gulf, Washington may come into agreement with the leaders of these countries on its bases and staffs. But it is not easy to change traditions sticked to [as heard] by the population. Very tense is Iran's reaction to the Pentagon's plans. According to the government newspaper TEHRAN TIMES, the United States is assuming the role of the police. The paper notes that there is no need in the region of the American permanent military presence; it could only intensify the instability.

Moscow is of the opinion that the foreign military presence in the Gulf should not surpass the levels available here as of 1 August last year—that is, before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. This is said in the civic settlement proposal submitted to the United Nations. The Security Council's resolution referring to the postwar structure in the Gulf has nothing about sanctioning the military presence of the United States or other outside countries in this region on a permanent basis.

These days the people in the Gulf feel gratitude to the Americans for their contribution to the victory. But will these feelings change if they stay there for a longer time? Will the planned American staffs and bases sow the seeds of new differences and conflicts?

Palestinian Describes Conflict With Israel

LD2803174491 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—"We believe that if the world's peoples and governments strove for a solution to the Palestinian problem as they did for a settlement of the Gulf conflict, this would have made it possible to find ways towards a political solution to the issue," Salim al-Zaanoun, deputy speaker of the Palestine National Council and leader of a Palestinian delegation, told TASS today.

The delegation has arrived in the Soviet Union on the eve of the national holiday of the Palestinian people—the land day.

The march of 1976 saw developments during which the Israeli authorities tried to capture Palestinian lands in Galilee. The Arab population of Palestine rose like one man for the defence of their land. Since March 30, 1976, the land day has been regularly marked by the Palestinian people as the day of struggle for their inalienable rights, for the freedom and independence of their native land.

"The day of the start of struggle for Palestinian lands is a landmark in the history of the striving of the Arab people of Palestine for freedom and independence. It is marked in many countries", al-Zaanoun said.

March 30, 1976 also became the date of the beginning of the intifadah (uprising) which has been going on for 40 months now on the Israel-occupied territories and which the Israeli authorities have been unable to suppress, al-Zaanoun added.

The Palestinian people are now living through a very complex period of struggle for their independence and are unable to worthily mark the land day not only on the occupied territories but also in some Arab countries.

Despite the entire complexity of the situation, Salim al-Zaanoun voiced hope that "the time will come when Palestinians will be able to celebrate the land day on the liberated lands of Palestine".

"We believe that the time will come when two friendly states—Arab and Jewish—will peacefully coexist on the long suffering land of Palestine. The two nations will be able to live peacefully on one land and enjoy its fruits," al-Zaanoun said.

Yanayev, Primakov Meet With Israeli Attorney

TA2203102591 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 22 Mar 91 p 1

[Report by Ya'el Gwirtz]

[Text] Attorney Amnon Zikhroni conferred this week with Soviet Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev and Yevgeniy Primakov, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Middle East adviser.

The two meetings were conducted in the Soviet officials' offices in the Kremlin and lasted about an hour. Attorney Zikhroni confirmed that he held the meetings with senior officials in the Kremlin, but refused to provide details about the contents of the discussions and the names of the people he met.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Bessmertnykh Meets With Ethiopian Counterpart

PM2803132391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 91 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A meeting took place 26 March between A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR foreign minister, and Dinka Tesfaye, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, who is in Moscow on an official visit.

Questions of bilateral relations were discussed and several international problems were touched on during a frank and comradely exchange of views.

Ethiopian Ambassador Comments on Relations

EA2403193091 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1500 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Interview with Girma Yilma, Ethiopian ambassador to the USSR, with correspondent Yelena Selimnova; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Comrade Girma, who has been appointed ambassador to the USSR, is a prominent person in his country and also in the USSR. He was a member of the Ethiopian Provisional Military Government and has been minister of information and minister of culture and sport. He is also a member of the Workers' Party of Ethioipia [WPE] Central Committee. Girma, being a member of the executive administration of the Ethiopian-Soviet solidarity association, has visited the USSR several times. Our correspondent Yelena Selimnova interviewed his excellency the ambassador.

[Selimnova] Your Excellency Mr. Ambassador: It has not been long since you were appointed special envoy and ambassador to the USSR. Have you not found the appointment surprising? What are your feelings on being appointed Ethiopian ambassador to the USSR?

[Girma] The appointment is not that surprising since I was ready to serve the people and carry out my obligations in any post. [passage omitted] In fact, I have accepted the appointment as a great responsibility because, as is clear to everybody, the Soviet-Ethiopian relationship is longstanding. I also took the appointment as a great responsibility to further strengthen this cordial relationship. [passage omitted]

[Selimnova] What are your plans for a fruitful future relationship?

[Girma] The duty of a mission head is to cooperate with diplomatic and other staff within the mission and to search for strengthening the relationship of the countries politically, economically, and socially. To achieve this and to show the Soviet people the true picture of

Ethiopia, the diplomats and the mission's staff need to cooperate and look for ways in which the countries can benefit mutually. Ethiopia is a historic country and since it is economically backward, facing natural and man-made problems, most Soviet citizens and other people in the world do not have a true picture of Ethiopia. [passage omitted]

[Selimnova] Recently mass media of different countries have been saying that the relationship between our countries is slowing down. How do you view this interpretation? Are they right? How do you see the future of Ethiopian-Soviet relations?

[Girma] As I said, the Ethiopian-Soviet relationship is historical. During the Ethiopian People's Revolution, the Soviet Government and people gave special support to the Ethiopian Revolution. Since 1985, new ideas in the USSR have given it a new outlook on foreign relations. Therefore, our relationship based on friendship and cooperation will continue. The relationship between countries is based on principles; it is not something that cools and warms like air. Obviously the USSR is undertaking political, economic, and social changes. During this transition period some problems may arise, but the relationship between the countries will continue. In my view, the news which is circulated is not true and it emanates from parties who do not have favorable views of our countries. Since our relationship is ancient and historical, it will continue in the future.

[Salimnova] The USSR is undertaking big changes in the economy, and in Ethiopia a new economic policy is in practice, too. Hence, during this transition period, will the countries establish economic relations based on mutual interest?

[Girma] Certainly. Both countries had wide-ranging economic and cultural relations, and even during transition of the economy and culture in each country, the relationship must continue. In fact, both countries have their own strengths and weaknesses. Private ownership is not the solution to every problem, and communal ownership of wealth is not something to be condemned completely. [passage omitted]

To strengthen competition, democratization, privatization, and competitiveness, the new mixed economy policy adopted at the 11th regular session of the WPE Central Committee is being implemented. In this respect, joint development ventures are being established. Based on past experience and in the current transitional period, I think there are joint forums that would help us learn from each other for our mutual benefit.

I think socialism's major objective is to safeguard popular wealth, satisfy basic needs in the health and cultural sectors, and improve production in a competitive way to satisfy the people's needs. Socialism, as a system, cannot be condemned completely; it has constructive and strong aspects. Based on these strong aspects, I think our countries in transition have a lot to learn from one another in establishing a better system to enhance a healthy economy—one that would benefit the people.

[Salimnova] Do you plan to change the Ethiopian Embassy's work in the USSR? If Soviet nationals want to learn more about your country, what steps are you going to take to satisfy these demands?

[Girma] As I said, this embassy is here to expand the friendship between the two peoples, to bring them closer, and to get them to know one another better and strengthen the already existing economic, political, social, and cultural relations. The Ethiopian Embassy in the USSR has been established for many years. It had undertaken many constructive activities before my time. Based on these established norms, we will make every effort to publicize Ethiopia's correct image to the Soviet people by coordinating diplomatic and staff activities and by using the Ethiopian students in the USSR to publicize our country to the people.

As I said before, Ethiopia is a nation with an ancient history and civilization, and since the Revolution, great efforts have been made to change the exploitative and oppressive systems that existed before. Efforts are being made to acquaint Ethiopians going abroad, Soviet scholars who know Ethiopia, and others through books, art exhibits, etc. We are doing everything possible to make use of the available opportunities to introduce Ethiopia, including the USSR-Ethiopia Friendship Committee and other things like the Peace Committee.

We always need journalists' assistance in this. Truly, Ethiopia is ancient and proud of her unity and has become an example of freedom to most countries. I call on journalists to help us publicize Ethiopia to the Soviet people. [passage omitted]

[Salimnova] In conclusion, do you have anything to say to our Ethiopian listeners of Radio Moscow?

[Girma] What I wish Radio Moscow listeners is peace, cooperation, and good life to all. As I tried to explain earlier, Ethiopia is a country of many nationalities [as heard]. Today the constitution respects the rights of every nationality. We have the responsibility to jointly work hard to build this ancient country of ours, and I wish our efforts toward this bear fruit. [passage omitted]

EPLF Releases Soviet Advisers, Eases Tension

PM2803154391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Waiting to Go Home"]

[Text] Khartoum, 27 Mar—On Tuesday three Soviet military specialists who had been in the hands of forces of the EPLF [Eritrean People's Liberation Front] for more than three years were handed over to representatives of the USSR Embassy in Khartoum. The officers' physical condition is OK. They will be sent home in the very near future.

Lieutenant Colonel Churayev, Lt. Col. Kalistratov, and Senior Lt. Kuvaldin had been captured by EPLF guerrillas 17 March 1988 near the fortified region of Afabet in Ethiopia. All this time the Soviet Government had been taking measures for their release, appealing for help from countries which have contacts with members of the Eritrean opposition who are waging a struggle against the Ethiopian Government.

The Soviet officers have been freed through the mediation of Sudan, in whose capital there are missions of practically all the Eritrean and Ethiopian opposition groupings. In the opinion of Western diplomats accredited in Nairobi, the release of the Soviet officers could be a preliminary step to easing tension between the opposing sides in Ethiopia in the event of their resuming peace talks.

Ethiopia Situation Termed 'Alarming'

EA2203115091 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1500 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Vladimir Borisov commentary]

[Text] The war, which resumed between the government and the rebel forces as soon as the rainy season ended, has been dominated by the success of the opposition forces. In the last three weeks of the war, several strategic villages and garrison towns have been captured. Gonder and Gojam administrative areas have been taken from the government. The strategy adopted by the rebels is very clear. They intend to capture the highway that links Addis Ababa with the Red Sea port, and leave the capital city without fuel and foreign aid.

As news received from the areas yesterday indicates, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] has captured the town of Mezezo, which is 130 kms from Addis Ababa. The town is very near to the road that links Addis Ababa with Aseb. The ancient African country, which has fought with colonialists to safeguard her freedom, is now on the brink of falling to rebel fighters. The extent of the reality of this alarming situation and its dangerous consequences can be viewed from the experience we have from the sad situations in Liberia and Somalia.

Although the present opposition forces, (?unlike) the former ones, have called themselves popular democracy or revolutionary front, they are different in character. Their cover, under the above titles, is used to conceal their tribal policies and ideology, as well as their thirst for power. Their official objectives are always the same. They are to dismantle the inhuman and corrupt regime and establish an administration in which the people gain wide representation. The sad thing is, however, that when one dictatorial regime is replaced by another, tribal antagonism still remains unsolved. This discouraging situation is common in all of Africa except Uganda.

In Uganda, however, the coup carried out by Yoweri Museveni five years ago ressembled a rebel tactic at the beginning, but in reality the regime there has embarked on strengthening national unity. It is very sad that the situation in northern Ethiopia is quite different from this.

In their struggle against the central government, the rebels from Eritrea and Tigray, Oromo, and other nationalities, have secessionist aims. The Eritrean rebels in particular want their country to secede from Ethiopia. The other fronts also clearly show this kind of secessionist attitude. They say they want to dismantle the Amhara dictatorship. This being the case, it is difficult to believe that Ethiopia will follow the good example of Uganda, but it can be assumed that the sad situation that took place in neighboring Somalia could also happen in Ethiopia. The anarchy which occurred after the fall of Mohamed Siad Barre is still rampant. There is no understanding between the armed tribal groups. As they fight from time to time, each group aims to set up its own government.

In Ethiopia, where hunger is looming over millions of citizens, there is no doubt that a rebel led coup will bring more severe agony and suffering, concludes our commentator Vladimir Borisov.

Supreme Soviet

Proceedings From 28 March Session Detailed

LD2803220991

Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 2043 GMT on 28 March carries a recorded account of proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin, Moscow, on 28 March.

Coverage begins with debate on the Moscow rally. Deputy Sobchak says the Interregional Group is not behind the planned rally, but the "illegal decision" on the rally must be lifted.

The deputies turn their attention to the draft law on entrepreneurial activity of citizens. A deputy involved in the drafting outlines its main provisions. He outlines the provisions on small businesses. During the debate on the bill, an unidentified deputy says that we must not get into a situation where state enterprises can dictate price policy. Numerous deputies intervene on the entrepreneurial activity bill; none are identified. Aspects of profits, incomes, and management are discussed.

At 2122 GMT Anatoliy Lukyanov summarizes the debate. He says some people want to defer discussion of the bill. A second group of deputies wants the bill to be passed as a whole. One deputy even feels the bill is overdue. He picks out individual points made by the 14 speakers. Two committees have provided submissions on the subject. A final decision will be made tomorrow.

The coreespondent says that Lukyanov told the Supreme Soviet about his discussions on the Moscow rally. There is no intention to put pressure on the RSFSR congress, Lukyanov said. Gorbachev told Khasbulatov he wants the congress to proceed calmly. Two draft decisions on the Moscow rally failed to be accepted, the correspondent concludes.

At 2128 GMT Internal Affairs Minister Boris Pugo outlines the militia and army's role in keeping order in Moscow:

"I consider it necessary, as I understand it, to inform you about the situation that has come about in Moscow. In implementing the resolution of the USSR Surpeme Soviet of 21 March and the USSR Cabinet of Ministers of 25 March, and taking into consideration the worsening public-political and criminal situation, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has taken measures to insure law and order and security in Moscow concerning the demonstration planned for today, 28 March. The further increase in militia personnel and the limited contingent of internal troops and the Soviet Army have in no way, and do not have, a political nature, although some people today are trying to talk about this. They are not connected with the holding of the third extraordinary Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputies, and do not aim to exert pressure on its normal work. I consider that it is important to stress this in the first place.

"This morning the forces of law and order in the area of the Moskva hotel, where evidently many of you live, and of the Rossiya, and also on Red Square, created the necessary secure, free space excluding any attempt to insult or degrade the honor and dignity of people's deputies. Unfortunately there had already been such cases. But I myself visited those places this morning, and personally acquainted myself with the state of affairs. I spoke with a number of deputies. The deputies confirmed that our measures were timely and correct, and that the work was going off completely calmly, no one was exerting any pressure. In general, maybe it is not proper to say this, but many expressed gratitude to me for providing security for people to be able to work calmly and normally. Therefore statements about the Kremlin and deputies being encircled by militia and soldiers on armored vehicles, and their going to the congress under the muzzles of automatic weapons, was talked about today at the Congress of Russian People's Deputies..."

Lukyanov interrupts: "It was just said here that submachine gunners are there."

Pugo responds: "Well, to put it mildly, all this is genuine fantasy. The militia and the servicemen, I want to say this to you bluntly, have no weapons at all. They have all been instructed most seriously and carefully. All measures have been taken to insure the strictest observance of legality, restraint, and discipline.

"On the basis of the reliable information at our disposal, the measures to strengthen public safety in the capital are entirely timely and necessary. This has already been said at the session; but I just want to reaffirm it once more. The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the internal affairs bodies of Moscow and Moscow Oblast have received, and are still receiving, dozens of anonymous telephone calls about possible explosions both in places where a deputy lives, and in Red Square. There is information that a special group is being prepared to bring moral and physical influence to bear on unpopular deputies.

"Our generalizations are not unfounded. On 10 March, as has been mentioned, over 1,000 participants in a meeting tried for three hours to force their way into Red Square. One cannot omit saying that this action was prepared well in advance by the organizers and those behind them. It should be seen as, well, simply a rehearsal—to test, to test the reliability of the forces of law and order.

"It has to be said today that in Moscow there is a large influx of, well, anti-social elements, as they are called. Scores of guns have been taken from the criminals, as well as explosives, grenades, and gas canisters. Just recently in Tselinograd a criminal group was disarmed and four large-bore machineguns taken from them.

Three days or so ago, one criminal group form Dagestan was disarmed, which also had a very large quantity of weapons.

"All this indicates that the situation is very complex and needs to be reckoned with. We cannot exclude the possibility that these persons could exploit the situation to stage riots and pogroms and other serious offenses.

"Now comrades, I do not have any confirmation—I have only just sent off for confirmation—but we have received reports that in a number of districts of Moscow today vodka has gone on sale without coupons, and that the vodka is being carried off in shopping bags. We are very concerned about this. It is an extremely dangerous and bad symptom. The bodies of law and order should also bear in mind this sort of danger, particulary since, following rallies of many thousands of people, [indistinct aside] when the militia are out in maximum force, crime in Moscow on subsequent days goes up by 50-60 percent.

"But at the same time, comrades, I should like to tell you today that the measures adopted in Moscow have proved to be absolutely correct. I have information at this moment from all districts of Moscow. The situation at the moment is exactly what it ought to be during congress and session proceedings, although there is a danger that it could become difficult as a result of the fact that appeals were made today for the rally on Manezhnaya Square to be held. Bearing in mind the fact that there is an appropriate decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet, instructing the Cabinet of Ministers, and that there is a Cabinet of Ministers decision on this, we would like to say again that we believe it necessary to show firmness and not permit the meeting on Manezh Square to take place, because this holds the very serious danger of spilling over into Red Square and other areas. If the organizers of the rally have called for people to gather, if they meet outside the Bulvarnoye Koltso, we shall have to maintain security in the center and places earlier outlined, and we have the forces to do so.

"So I would ask the Supreme Soviet to simply support our decisions, and I consider this very necessary so that order can be maintained in the capital, and that this order will help the maintenance of order in our country as a whole," Pugo says in conclusion.

At 2136 GMT Laptev reads out a Supreme Soviet statement, endorsed by deputies, calling on Muscovites not to demonstrate during the RSFSR Congress and calling rally organizers to account.

Lukyanov Report on Moscow Rally

LD2803164191 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS legislative correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Soviet parliament Speaker Anatoliy Lukyanov briefed deputies at the evening session today that organisers of demonstrations and representatives of law-enforcement agencies agreed on Wednesday that the rally would take place not at the Manezhnaya Square in central Moscow as was planned, but at Mayakovskiy Square and Kalininskiy Prospect.

Lukyanov stressed that "the Congress of Russian People's Deputies was somewhat misinformed" today. Police and Interior Ministry troops "have no automatic weapons, and no armoured personnel carriers are used in cordons. Even officers have no weapons".

Lukyanov said that President Mikhail Gorbachev met earlier in the day a deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, Ruslan Khasbulatov, to discuss the rally at the Manezhnaya Square.

"The president expressed the wish that the Congress of Russian People's Deputies tackle all issues in a calm, restrained manner, without inciting and whipping up passions, and without resorting to pressure on deputies by street meetings," he said.

Lukyanov quoted Gorbachev as saying that "no decisions, connected with establishing public order, maintaining law and order in the capital and the country as a whole, as well as protecting human rights, can be cancelled".

"Additional measures," Lukyanov emphasised, "were taken to offset the threat to public order, the rights, life and dignity of citizens."

Laptev Statement on Rallies

LD2803214691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Report on USSR Supreme Soviet seesion in Moscow on 28 March; from the "Legislative Diary" program]

[Text] [Announcer] A joint session of the chambers has been taking place in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Initially deputies dealt with the second reading of a draft law on the general principles of citizens' entrepreneurial activity in the USSR. However, the apparently calm course of lawmaking was upset by deputy Yudin. He drew his colleagues' attention to the fact that the country's Cabinet of Ministers has banned a rally planned in Moscow. This created an explosive situation and made hostages of both the participants in the rally and those instructed to hinder this action. This was discussed for practically the whole day.

Two fundamentally contradictory proposals were submitted—to ask Democratic Russia not to hold the rally, and, second, to allow the rally to be held and then to make an assessment of everything.

Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev went to the vice president, the prime minister, and his first deputy, Doguzhiyev, and reported to deputies that a search for a solution, a search

for compromise, was under way. The session then heard a draft decision of the Supreme Soviet proposed by Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev:

[Begin recording] Statement of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 28 March 1991. Mindful of the acute nature of the situation that has arisen in Moscow on 28 March this year, the USSR Supreme Soviet once again suggests to the Moscow Soviet of People's Deputies, the leadership of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, and all USSR and RSFSR people's deputies that they urgently appeal to the population of Moscow not to hold any mass events of a political nature during the proceedings of the Third Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies. The USSR Supreme Soviet stresses that the initiators of rallies and demonstrations and the heads of the bodies which have sanctioned them are taking upon themselves personal responsibility for the safety of the citizens they are calling upon to go into the streets, and warns that in the event of disorders, let alone clashes, breaking out, the persons guilty of organizing these disorders will be brought to criminal and other account in accordance with the law. [end recording]

Let me remind you that this was the draft decision formulated from two alternative documents. Also today, deputies heard from Minister of Internal Affairs Pugo, who reported on the state of affairs in Moscow.

Accord Considered Possible on Union Treaty

LD2803172191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1012 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—The main result of work on the draft Union treaty is the fact that it is possible to reach agreement, Georgiy Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations Commission. He has been participating directly in the work on the draft, and he was answering the questions of a TASS correspondent.

He noted that the central problem in discussing the draft, which in essence is of key importance to the Union treaty, is "the demarcation of authority between the Union and the republics or the subjects of the federation." The deputy reported that the treaty has supplements providing procedures and a time limit for implementing articles that are laid down.

As Tarazevich said, the republics have reached the common view that for the Union to be an economically sovereign state, it is essential that there is Union ownership. As for the issues of the organization of defense and leadership of the Armed Forces, that previously fell within the competence of the Union, these are shared in the new version. The organization of defense and the leadership of the Armed Forces of the USSR, border guards, the internal and other forces, the declaration of war, and the conclusion of peace are all the prerogative of the Union. But the defining of USSR military policy—this is to be by joint authority.

It is important to note, the commission chairman continued, that despite the very varied opinions, the republics have reached a sensible decision regarding the formation of the Union budget. He announced that in addition to this, in talks on the draft "no-one takes an active position as far as all-Union or nationwide interests are concerned." The role of representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Federation Council is, in his words, passive: they can only explain and be consulted.

Tarazevich said that before us now is the most difficult process—examination of the draft by members of parliament in the Union republics. In his view it is still too early to speak of work on the draft treaty being completed soon. Although if several republics, first and foremost Russia, agree to it, signing can begin and then the remaining differences can be ironed out.

Legislative Committee on Relations With Japan

LD2703185891 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 27 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—The Soviet parliament committee for international affairs today held a closed session to discuss the state and prospects for Soviet-Japanese relations. Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh addressed the session.

Members of the committee, who took part in the discussion, pointed to the importance of President Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit for future Soviet-Japanese relations and stressed the significance of ensuring Soviet national interests, the importance of lasting good neighbourly relations with Japan and their further constructive development, including in the interests of international stability and security.

Lukyanov 26 March Statement on Referendum

LD2703190591 Moscow Central Television Second Program in Russian 1845 GMT 26 Mar 91

[Statement by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 26 March—recorded] [Text] The concluding meeting of the Central Commission on the USSR Referendum has just taken place. Here are the final results of the referendum:

Some 185.5 million people were entitled to vote. Those who received ballot papers numbered 149 million, and those who took part in the vote numbered 148.5 million, that is to say, 80 percent of all those people entitled to vote. Some 113.5 million people replied affirmatively—that is 76.4 percent—and 32.3 million replied negatively—that is 21.7 percent. Some 2.7 million, or 1.9 percent of the papers, were spoiled.

If we take the overall number of voters in the country and the overall adult population of the country over 18 years of age, then more than half of the population of our country said yes to the referendum.

This is the conclusion that was drawn today by the central commission on the referendum. I say this, comrades, also because recently, for more than a month now, an increasing number of attempts have been made in the press to drive a wedge between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR president, to prove that their opinions differ, that often the Supreme Soviet and its chairman and the president and so forth hold conflicting opinions.

There is probably no need for me to prove—each of us understands—that these are attempts with worthless means. On all the most important issues although we do have arguments and we will continue to have them—that is natural—there is plurality of opinions and we will not renounce this—the country's leadership's policy has been supported by the Supreme Soviet. This is the most considerable thing. Today, as regards the referendum, this policy of the country's leadership was supported not only by the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies but also by the majority of the country's adult population.

It seems to me that any publications issued now will have only one aim: to sow discord, to sow discord. That is my opinion. I am entitled to express it to the deputies. I too am a people's deputy. It seems to me, comrades, that we should pursue the path that we have chosen. This is the path of drawing the people closer together, consolidating all healthy forces and continuing the outlined reforms.

IZVESTIYA Reports 25 March Session Debates

PM2803122591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA legislative correspondents A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev Kremlin on 25 March session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow: "Miners' Strikes Are the Center of Attention"]

[Text] Resuming the morning sitting 25 March after the first recess, Chairman A. Lukyanov reacted as follows to the results of the vote on the draft resolution on the state of affairs in agriculture and urgent steps to prepare for field work: The results of the vote show that the text of the document is, indeed, written "according to old practices." He proposed that it be sent for editing to the Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food.

There were no objections, but it was nonetheless decided to continue the debate. Deputies A. Dolganov, A. Reznik, M. Umarkhodzhayev, V. Lazarenko, V. Tsyganov, and others who spoke then voiced solidarity with the chairman regarding the quality of the draft resolution. But they came to the rostrum to draw the parliament's attention once again to the extremely grave situation in agricultural production.

The session will examine the draft resolution immediately after substantial editing work.

Reacting to things that a number of deputies had said previously in connection with the coming price reform, A. Lukyanov gave USSR Deputy Prime Minister V. Shcherbakov the floor in order to answer questions.

V. Shcherbakov began by describing Deputy V. Lisitskiy's earlier speech in the parliament as harsh and unjust in many respects. A new government has not yet been formed, V. Shcherbakov said, yet some deputies are demanding its resignation, while others are beginning to level accusations. Answering a particular question about a ceiling in parental earnings ending child allowance payments, V. Shcherbakov explained: Under the former system we paid 30-70 rubles [R] for a child under 18 months old under all circumstances. There were payments of R35 for children under six years of age provided that per capita income was no more than double the minimum wage, that is R140. The following limit is now being introduced: four times the minimum wage, that is R280.

Opening the 25 March evening sitting, A. Lukyanov told deputies that the parliament would discuss the situation in the country.

The debates that unfolded in the course of the discussion and eventual adoption of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Implementing Retail Price Reform and Measures to Provide the Population with Social Protection" constituted, as it were, the first phase of the discussion.

Justifying the need for the parliament to adopt this document, Deputy A. Zhuravlev, who submitted the draft, noted the concern caused by breaches of discipline in the sphere of deliveries, taxes, and payments. In the speaker's opinion, the resolution will enable the government to implement price discipline.

The discussion of the draft resolution effectively developed into an analysis of the government's pricing reform. Some deputies voiced a critical attitude to the steps being taken by the government. In the opinion of others, reform is a necessary condition for progress toward the market. Questions of social protection, including price indexing, aroused particular concern in virtually all speakers without exception. Answering deputies' questions, USSR Deputy Prime Minister V. Shcherbakov announced that the government had prepared a draft law on price indexing that, if approved by the Federation Council, may be submitted for the USSR parliament's consideration in the near future.

The introduction of V. Paulman—candidate for the post of USSR minister of labor and social problems—to the USSR Supreme Soviet acted as a kind of interlude in this intensive debate. V. Paulman was born in 1937 and graduated from Leningrad University. He is an economist by training and a candidate of economic sciences.

The Supreme Soviet agreed by a majority to the USSR President's appointing V. Paulman as USSR minister of labor and social problems.

However, the discussion of social problems did not end here. On behalf of worker parliamentarians Deputy N. Yefimov read out an appeal to his deputy colleagues in the republic supreme soviets. The appeal, the text of which will be published in accordance with the authors' demand, calls for support for the proposal to freeze retail prices for a number of essential commodities. The appeal provoked a disparate reaction from the sitting participants and was also a subject of debate.

Deputies then tackled what is perhaps the most urgent topic today—the miners' strikes. Asking to speak on behalf of a group of deputies, Deputy V. Samarin urged parliamentarians to move on from adopting appeals to more decisive action. In this connection he called the sitting participants' attention to a USSR Supreme Soviet draft resolution designed to halt the miners' strikes. The draft resolution contains just three points. It first suggests enacting Article 9 of the Law on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes. Under this article, the USSR Supreme Soviet has the right to suspend a strike for two months. What is more, the draft instructs the country's Cabinet of Ministers to immediately consider miners' demands and institute proceedings against those officials who are to blame for the nonfulfillment of previous government resolutions. Labor collectives in basic industrial sectors are in turn recommended to refrain from strikes until the end of 1991.

USSR Justice Minister G. Lushchikov was one of the first to respond to V. Samarin's proposal.

He told parliamentarians that on 25 March the Cabinet of Ministers had studied the results of the miner's strikes long and hard. The miners had recognized as bankrupt attempts to blame the government for the failure to implement the well-known USSR Council of Ministers resolution. Most of the blame here, the speaker reckoned, falls on republic and local soviets.

We think, G. Lushchikov stressed, that our respect for the law notwithstanding—in this case the reference to Article 9 of the said law is quite justifiable and the government agrees with the first point of V. Samarin's draft—this law must be improved. Questions have appeared that could not have been envisaged 18 months ago. Clear legal responsibility is necessary as regards strike organizers who are traveling from region to region, the speaker said, inciting workers in other sectors of industry to strike. That is why the government is proposing, apart from suspending the strikes, to supplement the draft with the following clause—that other labor collectives, irrespective of their jurisdiction and form of ownership, should postpone strikes for two months. That disciplinary and other means of persuasion should be employed against workers who violate the provisions of point one of the draft resolution.

G. Lushchikov also told deputies that the USSR prime minister has decided to hold talks with the miners on economic questions on 29 March. Before this date labor collectives are instructed to decide who currently represents their interests. The government believes that these should be representatives of those labor collectives that are still working and that have suggestions to make on economic questions. The government sent these instructions to all mining collectives 25 March.

At A. Lukyanov's suggestion it was decided to have the document edited with the participation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, the Justice Ministry, and trade unions.

A political statement issued by the "Soyuz" deputies' group and read out by Deputy A. Kryshkin marked the final stage of the parliamentary day.

The statement says that on 17 March the people advocated the preservation of the USSR. However, forces seeking to break up our multiethnic state are continuing to operate.

The statement proposes convening an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies to hear a report from the USSR President on the situation in the country and his account of his activity. It also proposes urging the extraordinary Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies to show wisdom and put an end to the confrontation between the republic and Union leadership. Moreover, it proposes for the period of the incipient economic reform to urge the republics' supreme soviets to introduce March a six-month moratorium on strikes and rallies from 27 and demand that the Union Cabinet of Ministers take vigorous steps to stabilize the situation in the country.

Our country took another important step 26 March on the road to a common European home. This occurred at the morning sitting of the fifth USSR Supreme Soviet session. The country's parliament called the attention of the sitting participants to the draft resolution on ratifying the agreement to set up the European Reconstruction and Development Bank, along with two international treaties—on USSR-Italian friendship and cooperation and on USSR-French accord and cooperation.

Submitting the first document to deputies, V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank], stressed that with its entry into the European Reconstruction and Development Bank our country has an opportunity for the first time begin and participate in an international currency and financial organization. The aim of the bank, set up on the initiative of French President F. Mitterrand, is to promote the transition to an open economy oriented on the market, along with the development of private and entrepreneurial initiative in Central and Eastern Europe.

Bank capital of 10 billion ECU's [European Currency Units] has been registered, V. Gerashchenko said. EEC

countries have the largest share—51 percent, while the United States and the USSR possess 10 and five percent of the capital respectively. Eastern and Central Europe account for seven percent of the bank's capital. Over the next five years our country is to contribute a total of 180 million ECU's—or $225 million—in equal amounts. We will be able to obtain credit to this sum—and no more—from the bank over the next three years. This condition, which partially discriminates against the USSR, was agreed on when the bank was set up. The reason for this is the state of our economy.

The USSR Gosbank's proposal to ratify the agreement setting up the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development won the support of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee. It then won the backing of the overwhelming majority of deputies on being put to the vote.

At the morning sitting USSR Supreme Soviet deputies also ratified the Treaty on USSR-Italian Friendship and Cooperation, along with the Treaty on USSR-French Accord and Cooperation. USSR Foreign Minister A. Bessmertnykh submitted the treaties to the parliament.

The USSR Supreme Soviet draft resolution on suspending strikes at coal enterprises and the USSR prime minister's appeal to the union parliament on the same question were handed out to deputies before the sitting began. Discussion of these documents is expected to begin in the afternoon.

Legislature Reviews Voting Procedures

PM2803114191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 91 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Article by legislative observer Miroslav Buzhkevich under the "Parliamentary Week" rubric: "Saying 'Yes' to Work"]

[Text] Last week the legislature examined a number of important documents concerning economic, political, and social problems. The discussion of the referendum results took up a central place in the session's work. That is understandable: It was the main political event in the country's life. Its outcome was of interest to the public around the world. The existence of such a powerful state as the USSR is an important component in the world community.

Thus, the results of the nationwide vote on the fundamental question of whether the Union will exist or not—needless to say, not in its previous form of an extremely unitary Union run solely by the center—have been summed up. In a report to parliament V. Orlov, chairman of the USSR Central Commission for the Referendum, called the results preliminary and open to clarification, but such clarification will not affect the referendum results to any significant extent. Some 147 million people—four-fifths of those registered—took part in the vote. Incidentally, I would note that this time the population was considerably more active than it was during the elections last year of people's deputies to union and autonomous republics, and to local soviets.

Some 76 percent of the turnout voted to preserve the USSR. They believe that the fate of the country's peoples is indivisible, since it is only through joint efforts that we can boost our economy and society's social and cultural development. That is an undoubted success for the country's progressive forces.

However, it would be extremely harmful to get euphoric about the optimistic referendum result. The referendum was held to the accompaniment of an acute political campaign and increased pressure from destructive, nationalist, and separatist forces. In a number of cases they were successful. In Kiev and certain southwestern Ukrainian oblasts the idea of preserving the Union was supported by less than half of those who voted, although in the republic as a whole more than 70 percent of those who turned out cast a decisive "Yes" vote. The very fact that almost a quarter of those who voted across the country rejected the idea of preserving a unified Soviet state is serious enough for us to engage once again in an in-depth analysis of the economic and political processes taking place in the country. This analysis will swiftly be followed by specific and dynamic measures comprehensible to the entire population to stabilize the national economy and to ensure its progress.

This is particularly important now that the first step is being taken down the road to the market. I am thinking of the retail price reform, that, even with the measures being taken to provide for the population's social protection, places very tangible pressure on each one of us. I am sure that both the state's leaders, the politicians who support the transition to the market economy, and the mass media have so far done little to explain to people that the restructuring of the national economy and production relations will be no smooth ride, but a hard journey over difficult terrain lasting more than a year and requiring sacrifices from everyone. Sacrifices to be repaid with interest.

Listening to the legislative discussion of the referendum results, I saw for myself yet again that, although the first nationwide poll in the country's history had been a success, its results could have been more impressive. There was clearly a lack of experience in organizing and staging such political events.

Clearly, the formulation of the actual question "Do you consider it necessary to preserve the USSR as a renewed federation of equal sovereign republics in which the rights and freedoms of people of any nationality are fully guaranteed" turned out to be complicated. We recall that the initial version of the question was shorter and therefore more comprehensible. What was the point of complicating it and trying to cover all the bases, as they say? After all, we have ahead of us the adoption of the Union Treaty and a new constitution for the country that will define with legal precision the sovereignty of members [subyekty] of the federation and the conditions fully

guaranteeing real human rights. What was the aim of setting a structurally complex question? Many of those who voted and who are convinced supporters of the Union, amended the text. As a result, hundreds of thousands of ballot papers were considered spoiled.

First of all, the all-union referendum should not have been combined with republic and local polls. People said that doing so would save money. Obviously. But some people simply got "mixed up" when given two or three ballots. This, incidentally, was skillfully exploited by all kinds of politickers. For instance, high-spirited guys wielding bullhorns spent all day in Moscow's pedestrian subways shouting "vote for Yeltsin and Popov," in a clear attempt to confuse people—after all, the questions on the republic and Moscow ballots were not tied in to any specific individuals.

In general, the politicking groups which decided to use the all-union referendum for their own immediate interests, operated with enviable enterprise. Speaking at the session, Deputy Ye. Nemtsev, leader of a team of adjustment workers at Groznyy's "Elektropribor" Plant, talked about how certain local "Greens" had actively campaigned to reject the idea of preserving the Union. They marched around the city brandishing placards and captivated marketplaces, where, using those bullhorns, they shouted appeals for people to either boycott the referendum or to cross out "Yes." Progressive forces were disunited and unable to organize effective counterpropaganda. The results were to be expected—the population's activeness was low, although ultimately three-quarters of those who voted said "Yes" to the Union.

The holding of the referendum in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldova, Armenia, and Georgia—where the republic authorities, in violation of the USSR Constitution, did not permit the nationwide vote to go ahead—has a special place in the discussion. Those who wanted to vote in these places had a tough time of it. They were met by chains of pickets. They were threatened. Leaders of enterprises and institutions were told not to provide premises for the voting. But that did not stop people. More than 2 million people, the overwhelming majority of whom advocated the preservation of the USSR, voted in the Baltic republics and Moldova. In the Abkhaz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] 98.4 percent of the turnout voted in this way. The Supreme Soviet assessed this manifestation of citizenship as an act of courage and patriotism.

It is well known that the referendum results have no legal force. The results are an indicator, a powerful projector illuminating our way ahead. And that is why the legislators have been mainly concentrating on the conclusions that will have to be immediately drawn. Above all, we must move as quickly as possible toward concluding and signing the Union Treaty, and accelerating the elaboration of the country's new constitution.

In the process of preparing and implementing the referendum people expressed alarm concerning the violation of economic ties, that has caused a slump in production leading to a sharp deterioration in the supply of foodstuffs and everyday goods to the population. It is finally time for state administrative organs to achieve real collaboration among the republics in strengthening discipline and order, and in carrying out the national economic program. The organized preparation and implementation of spring field work should now be to the fore.

In short, having said "Yes" in the referendum, we must all join in getting resolutely and energetically down to work.

Political & Social

Shevardnadze Says Dictator Warnings Proved Right

LD2903125191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1134 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 29 (TANJUG)—Eduard Shevardnadze, who resigned as Soviet foreign minister in January, has said that his warnings about the growing threat of a dictatorship in the Soviet Union are being proved as right now.

In an interview published in the Polish GAZETA WYBORCZA today, Shevardnadze said, "Confrontations could lead to chaos, anarchy, and it is then that a dictator will appear, it is not important from where, right or left." "I do not know who he will be, he will be born by chaos and anarchy," Shevardnadze specified.

The former Soviet foreign minister said that serious contradictions greatly complicated social and political processes in Soviet society, and that it was a genuine tragedy that there was no dialogue, without which he said no reasonable solution of the conflicts was possible.

Pugo Attends MVD Internal Forces' Conference

PM2803163991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Mar 91 First Edition p 2

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Semenyaka report under general headline: "Party Conferences"]

[Text] At a party conference Lieutenant General A. Griyenko, chairman of the organizational committee and chief of the military-political directorate, delivered a report entitled "On the Current Moment and Steps To Ideologically Unite and Organizationally Strengthen CPSU Organizations in the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Forces."

The speaker and delegates noted that, in the acute political and socioeconomic situation in the country, the forces' party organizations are working purposefully to implement the tasks of perestroyka, are retaining their cohesion, and are influencing the combat readiness and combat-duty-related activity of the forces, and discipline and law and order.

Colonel General B. Pugo, USSR minister of internal affairs, representatives of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Defense Ministry, and the USSR KGB Border Guard Troops, and members of the USSR MVD Internal Forces Military Council took part in the conference's work.

'Civic Concord' Appeals for End to Strife

LD2803172391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1608 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—The "Civic Concord" sociopolitical council has issued an appeal to the peoples, soviets of people's deputies, and governments of the Soviet Union and the republics.

The events that are happening in our country, the document says, would have seemed inconceivable five years ago. People are being killed. Demagogy and hypocrisy are gaining the upper hand at meetings, in the mass media, and in television programs. Our feelings are being cynically manipulated through distorted information. People who have vulgarized the principles of democracy are destroying the country and calling for people to put down their tools, claiming that this will fill the shelves in the shops. Pontificating about a law-based state, they display contempt for existing laws and create new ones to suit a small group of corrupt officials pandering to the shadow economy.

The positions of the sides that are confronting each other today are not determined by the people's interests but by narrow group objectives. The people are paying with grief and blood for the confrontation between ambitious politicians. Matters involving the life and work of the state are being decided not by soviets and governments, but by demonstrations and strikes.

Even the wishes of the majority of the people, who said "yes" to a renewed union of free sovereign states at the all-Union referendum on 17 March 1991, have not stayed the hand of those who are prepared to go to any lengths to destroy everything that has been created by the efforts of many generations. The danger of those peoples of Russia who have so far refrained from getting involved in fratricidal confrontation actually being drawn into such a thing has increased immeasurably. The situation is critical. Calls to put down tools and wage a struggle against the lawfully elected soviets and the government are tantamount to suicide.

This is national treachery for which our descendants will curse us.

We ask everyone, the appeal says, to discard pride and fury, and halt the war of laws and calls for strikes and violence. They bring nothing but greater desolation and chaos to all of the large and small peoples inhabiting our great country. Spiritual hollowness, bloodshed, empty shops, the impoverishment of the people, the hysteria of some and the apathy of others—this is the result of the active moves of political adventurers in the face of our passivity. Everything is being destroyed which could oppose rampant crime and the "godfathers" of the criminal economy, which is born and prospers in the depths of the nomenklatura apparatus of administration at all levels and which is spreading in a number of new soviets of people's deputies.

We call on all citizens of Russia and the Soviet Union, political parties and organizations to declare immoral the use of any form of violence in the political struggle, including psychological pressure on people's deputies of all levels with the aim of influencing their decisions.

We appeal for a ban on all strikes, rallies, and demonstrations, no matter where the initiative comes from for holding them, until the situation in the country stabilizes. We will give a last chance to the present governments of the union, the republics, and the soviets of people's deputies of all levels to get on with the work for which they have been called by the people, and demand from them programs to stabilize the situation and introduce order into the country.

We appeal to the country's intelligentsia, especially in the humanities, to do everything to halt confrontation in society, and to remember how destructive its vacillation is for everybody, including itself.

The appeal was signed by public associations of the Democratic Party; the Democratic Movement of Communists; the "Russian Academy"; "Parma", the Moscow Komi national and cultural society; "The Russian Fund for National Revival"; "Russian National Unity"; "The All-Slavonic Assembly"; "Inversor" scientific and educational institute; the League of Independent Scientists of the USSR; the "Otechestvo" [fatherland] Russian Cultural Society; the Moscow Workers' Club; and other organizations taking part in the work of the Civic Concord sociopolitical council.

Soyuz Deputies Appeal For 'Consensus'

PM2803164391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 91 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Reject Confrontation"]

[Text] At a session of the coordinating council of the "Soyuz" All-Union Association of Deputies in Moscow, an appeal to activists of and those who sympathize with the social movement "Democratic Russia" was adopted. The document states:

"We participants in the session of the coordinating council of the 'Soyuz' All-Union Association of Deputies appeal to you. The country is in a critical condition.

"We invite you to be sensible—to reject everything that is currently distracting the people from labor: From what is bringing the miners up out of the mines and tearing the peasants away from sowing. Can you really not see that

rallies and strikes have disturbed the peace in every Soviet family and are depriving many people of confidence in tomorrow?

"We invite you to refrain from further confrontation, to pool efforts for the peaceful development of processes in this tragic time for the country. If this is not to be, a night will fall in which it will be hard to determine who is a 'democrat,' who is a 'radical,' who is a 'Communist,' and who is a 'conservative.'

"All the responsibility for future destabilization of the situation in the country will lie with the organizers of the rallies and strikes, whatever political slogans they hide behind. To preserve and strengthen the shoots of democracy, we must proceed to consensus.

"The Soviet people have said 'yes' to the unity of the USSR. Let us respect their choice and jointly defend their hopes for a better future."

Justice Minister on Republics' Right To Secede

LD2703190691 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 27 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—"No one wants to cancel the right of republics to secede from the Union," Justice Minister Sergey Lushchikov told the PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK (GOVERNMENT HERALD) weekly. "But this right should be exercised on legal grounds, in accordance with the special law on secession," he said.

The minister emphasised that he cannot understand the attitude of the leading bodies of some republics which refused to hold the referendum on their territories.

"They publicly lay claim to the role of true democrats. Moreover, they boast of their statements to this effect before the international public while indirectly or overtly forbidding people to express their attitude to the destiny of the country by secret ballot," Lushchikov said.

In some places, the minister recalls in this connection, people were persecuted for their participation in the referendum. "This is not only nonsense. These are actions punishable from the viewpoint of international law, legislation of any developed country," he said.

"The results of the referendum are valid throughout the territory of our country, irrespective of whether people voted or did not vote or voted partially," the minister explained.

The people made their choice in favour of the integrity of the state, the strengthening of the power which occupies a worthy place in the international community, he added.

Touching upon the contents of a union treaty, Lushchikov pointed out that the draft treaty scrupulously observes the balance of rights delegated to the union by republics and the rights of the union's subjects—republics as sovereign states, "for provision has been made for all necessary attributes which make it possible to refer to them precisely as independent states".

Turning to matters that remain unresolved so far, he mentioned the need to find a procedure under which autonomous republics that are part of Union republics will sign the treaty and find a way for nationalities to be represented in the parliamentary chambers in the best way. Not only the Soviet Union but also many other multi-ethnic states encounter this problem, Lushchikov recalled.

The draft Union treaty makes provision for a situation when an individual republic will decide not to sign the Union treaty: Such an attitude of the republic "does not mean that the republic in question automatically withdraws from the Union," the minister said.

"Neither the 1922 treaty, the current fundamental law, or other all-Union laws have been abrogated. Everyone must comply with them. Anything that runs counter to them is simply unconstitutional", Lushchikov stated.

Gorbachev Addresses Agro-Industrial Workers

LD2703140891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Mar 91

[Report by correspondent V. Golubev on meeting between USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and agro-industrial complex workers on 26 March, place not given; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] It is obvious that disbanding collective and state farms in a very short space of time, and distributing the land to smallholders signifies dooming the country to global starvation. But it is just as obvious that collective and state farms, as a system which has turned the peasant into a laborer, a system which sucked the last juices from the countryside, leads to the same result. Opening the meeting, the president stressed that assembled here were the managers of farms, leaseholders and smallholders, who, on the basis of the diversity of forms and structures—and this is the pivot of agrarian restructuring policy—are building new economic relations. Their essence is reviving the peasant as a free and equal participant in the general economic process, and where common sense triumphs over pride, business is flourishing. [passage omitted]

The path of reform in the countryside is not an easy one today. What is most depressing peasants today is the many years of unequivalent exchange between town and countryside, which is driving any good cause into an impasse. But having taken a sip of freedom, peasants can no longer be turned back. This is what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev dwelt on in his concluding address.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Your experience convinces one that the more economic freedom and responsibility there is, especially the more freedom there is to dispose

of one's final...[pauses] of the end results of one's work—this is the most important thing—the greater and the stronger will be the effect of incentives.

The subject of equal relations between the agro-industrial complex, agriculture, and other sectors of the national economy has been raised here. Comrades, bear in mind, all of us here are not on different sides of the barricade. We understand this. If equal relations between spheres, including the town, are not maintained, and a process of rapprochement in living conditions between town and countryside does not take plce, we will always be in a grave situation as regards food. Moreover, 100 million [people] are connected with agriculture, with the agro-industrial complex; this is one-third, more than one-third of the country's population. That is why, from this point of view, this is an area of major politics—relations between town and the countryside, between our workers and peasants—this is the food question. This is the question of land, of today-'s...[pauses] a question of present-day and of future life, so that this is a cardinal issue of our state policy. We will deal with this, I assure you. Both the president and the cabinet will deal with this. We are now preparing and are discussing these new approaches in order to maintain these equal relations at the appropriate level.

I see that you are beginning to get worried, because while in the past few years these relations had more or less, so to speak, entered a normal course, and the peasants had felt that some parity had risen, had felt that they were receiving incomes to develop the farm, invest in the development of production, improve the village and create conditions for the people's life, make the countryside more dignified, the changes and again the misalignment between wholesale prices and procurement prices can bury this process and bring it to a halt. This is not permissible. [end recording]

Hijack Attempt of Arkhangelsk Flight Foiled

LD2803150491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1424 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Anufriyev]

[Text] Arkhangelsk, 28 Mar (TASS)—An attempt to hijack a Soviet aircraft, which was flying a domestic route, to Sweden was foiled today. The TU-134 airliner set off early this morning on the Arkhangelsk-Leningrad-Kaliningrad route with a full complement of 80 passengers. When the aircraft flew into the Kaliningrad zone, one of the passengers passed a demand to the crew that they change course and fly to Stockholm. The pilots talked with the terrorist. Having convinced themselves that the hijacker's threats were not backed up in any way, they tied him up and isolated him in the forward baggage section. Exactly on time, at 1233, the aircraft landed at its intended destination of Kaliningrad. It turned out that the hijacker was a certain Aleksey Kuznetsov, born in 1973, a native of the town of Severodvinsk, Arkhangelsk Oblast. He was unarmed.

Paper on Establishing Food Supply Commission

PM2803170791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 91 Union Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "On the Formation of a Commission for the Prompt Resolution of Food Supply Questions in 1991"]

[Text] On the instructions of the USSR president a commission has been formed under the chairmanship of USSR Deputy Prime Minister F.P. Senko for the prompt resolution of questions connected with realizing the economic agreement of the USSR and the Union republics on questions of deliveries of food and agricultural raw materials in 1991 and the stable supply of foodstuffs to the country's population.

The commission members include leaders of central organs dealing directly with the organization of foodstuffs production and with the planning, funding, and credit provision of enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex, as well as of a number of ministries and departments which ensure the production of material and technical resources, their delivery to the countryside, the conveyance of food commodities, and their sale to the population.

The said commission is entrusted with regularly examining the state of affairs with regard to the food supply and the production and deliveries of foodstuffs in the country as a whole and in individual regions and adopting specific decisions.

Ivashko Phone-in on Party Policy Issues

PM2603154091 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Mar 91 First Edition pp 1, 3

["Abbreviated transcript" of 14 March readers' phone-in discussion with V.A. Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, reported by Captain 2d Rank O. Odnokolenko under the rubric "Feedback Telephone: Dialogue With Readers": "V.A. Ivashko: No, We Are Not Entrenched..."]

[Text] On 14 March USSR People's Deputy Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, answered questions from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's readers. The next day the newspaper reported a fragment of the dialogue, the section dealing mainly with the future of the Union Treaty and the referendum. Today we offer you an abbreviated transcript of the whole of V.A. Ivashko's conversation with readers.

[Ekonomov] This is Nikolay Grigoryevich Ekonomov, from Moscow. Vladimir Antonovich, I fought to defend Russia, the Soviet Union, and Soviet power in 1941-1945. I fought on the 1st Belorussian Front with Marshal Zhukov. But now it grieves me to have to ask: Does the USSR Constitution still exist, or have they abolished it?

[Ivashko] The USSR Constitution exists, nobody has repealed it.

[Ekonomov] But it isn't being fulfilled! For instance, in the Baltic republics, Georgia, Moldova...

[Ivashko] Well, in broad terms your observation is fair. At the same time I would like to point out that the CPSU Central Committee is channeling all its efforts into the safeguarding and observance of the constitutional system in our country. But you have to understand the depth of the social processes taking place. Unfortunately, despite the noble goals, in the course of perestroyka negative features have also emerged. In this situation, I suppose the right thing to do is to seek the maximum consolidation of society. The new Central Committee secretariat is trying to act in precisely this direction.

[Aritskiy] Good day, sir. Colonel Aritskiy, Georgiy Dmitriyevich, here. I'm a Ukrainian myself...

[Ivashko] Glad to hear it. Good day to you, my fellow countryman!

[Aritskiy] The way life has worked out, I'm serving here in Moscow now. But I follow very carefully the events in my native Ukraine. I feel my heart is there. And my question to you, Vladimir Antonovich, is rather personal in nature. When you were elected deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the 28th congress, I had mixed feelings. On the one hand, I was glad that a comrade from the Ukraine had become the second man in the party. On the other hand, I am still tormented by one doubt: Was it the right thing to do? Here is why. In the Ukraine you were a respected man, and constructive forces were grouped around you.

[Ivashko] Some people realized that after I left. Unfortunately, it often happens that way.

[Aritskiy] Precisely. But I personally, as a Ukrainian and a communist, think you would have been more useful there now.

[Ivashko] Georgiy Dmitriyevich, there is one simple condition for successful work: the existence of support. Unfortunately, I did not sense such support in the Ukrainian parliament. The very same people who were accusing me, at first, of all mortal sins, accused me of betrayal after I left. So where is the logic in that? Which of the accusations are supposed to be true?

This is what I think: You can't turn back the clock. I believe I am doing useful work in Moscow too, including work in the Ukraine's interests. I don't like high-flown words, but remember, I say this from my heart. Whatever strength I have, I will give it all to the people, the country, and the party.

[Aritskiy] I am pleased with your answer. Thank you. Good luck.

[Kravchenko] This is Georgiy Georgiyevich Kravchenko (no relation to the Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] chairman). Comrade Ivashko, can I ask you a question?

[Ivashko] Good day, I'm listening.

[Kravchenko] If you're listening, I'll admit I was cheating a bit—I have several questions at once. First. What is your political and moral assessment of the Latvian and Lithuanian Communist Party leaders, who set up the unconstitutional national salvation committees which called for the overthrow of the legitimately elected organs of power? And how do you view the actions of Comrade Polozkov, who calls for something similar in Russia?

[Ivashko] I think everything that is happening—and could happen—in the country should take place within the framework of the Soviet constitutional system. But this applies not only to communists, but to everyone else too, without exception.

[Kravchenko] My second question, then. Tell me, is there any reason to think that the republics will after all secure autonomy and the monopoly of central organs will be eliminated, when already, even before the conclusion of the Union treaty, the USSR Supreme Soviet is examining a draft law making provision for the creation of 32 Union ministries and 15 committees? Aren't we putting the cart before the horse again?

[Ivashko] A difficult question. This is the problem. Maybe you know that I am a committed supporter of the development of market relations in our socialist state. Let me stress: market relations in, specifically, a socialist state. As I understand it, this is the only approach capable of ensuring society's commitment to good, productive work. The state of production in the world and, by contrast, in our country testifies to the ineffectiveness of managing the economy from a single center. But you can't go to sleep with one set of economic conditions and wake up with another. The switch to a mixed economy is feasible only by way of a certain transitional period. In short, it is necessary to look at life dialectically and never assume that everything that exists at present is forever. Life, practice, experience, and scientifically substantiated predictions should be our guides along this path. Plus common sense, of course.

Incidentally, I must point out that certain sectors have existed and will continue to exist with centralized management. For instance, railroad transportation and pipelines. In Europe, for example, a whole conglomeration of transport links has been created, and that does not cause any difficulties or conflicts. On the contrary, it increases production efficiency.

[Kravchenko] One last question, Vladimir Antonovich. Do you think it is right to say that the CPSU is the ruling party, when the elections to the Supreme Soviet did not take place on the basis of party lists, when 750 deputies were not elected by the people at all, and when the voters

voted not for parties, but for deputies personally, with the programs they put forward? Is this not a new attempt to usurp power?

[Ivashko] Political parties are set up and exist for only one purpose—to come to power and hold on to it. To claim anything else would be insincere and untrue of any party. Otherwise it is just a club or amateur society—like philatelists or butterfly collectors... Therefore the term "seizing power," which is intended to provoke a sharp reaction, can be safely left out of the discussion. I repeat: For this or that party to come to power is a natural process, world experience does not suggest any other outcome.

[Shablovskiy] My name is Vladimir Vasilyevich Shablovskiy, I'm a captain 1st rank in the reserves, from Moscow. Vladimir Antonovich, don't you think it would be expedient, in view of the situation, after the referendum to impose a state of emergency in the country and declare presidential rule—to impose order, at last?

[Ivashko] As for imposing constitutional order in the country, I entirely agree with you. As for the means of carrying out this "measure," the people who are vested with high state powers must think about that. But is this the right time to resort to such extremely radical measures? Let me tell you something. In recent days I have talked with dozens of people in various parts of the Soviet Union. And I can tell, not only from these conversations, that we have many regions where people are working intensively and creatively, although there are many difficulties. And if in some places the situation is absolutely intolerable, nonetheless this cannot automatically be extended to the entire country. Hence the conclusion: Strengthening discipline and order is not only a task for the center, but also for organs of power at all levels.

[Shablovskiy] I agree, within the framework of the Constitution. But all the same, in view of the situation centrally and on the periphery, we will not be able to avoid presidential rule...

[Sarikova] I'm calling from Lyubertsy, my name is Yevgeniya Gerasimovna Sarikova. Esteemed Vladimir Antonovich. Here is my proposal. Gorbachev and Yeltsin should sit down together in front of a television camera—let them sit with their backs to each other if they like—and set forth their views. Once and for all. Otherwise their tug-of-war goes on and on, and things don't get any easier for the people. In the end we don't care who prevails—Yeltsin or Gorbachev. We want to know how we're going to live.

[Ivashko] That's what I think too: Today it is these people, tomorrow it will be someone else, but the country remains. Our main concerns should be for the country.

[Sviridov] Hello. Colonel Andrey Mikhaylovich Sviridov. I am calling about a man who was in the same regiment as me, Boris Zaytsev. He lost both legs and his eyes in the storming of Koenigsberg. Now he is a People's Artist of the Ukraine, he has given more than 4,000 concerts...

[Ivashko] I've heard him...

[Sviridov] He sings about 1,300 songs and has performed in Afghanistan and at Chernobyl. He has accomplished a great labor feat. For many years we have been asking for the title of Hero of Socialist Labor to be conferred on him. Our petition is supported by 17 different institutions, collectives, and military units. But nothing has come of it.

[Ivashko] Where is Boris Petrovich working now?

[Sviridov] At the Odessa Philharmonia.

[Ivashko] Andrey Mikhaylovich, I promise you I will ask the Odessa Oblast leadership and the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture to reconsider this question.

[Sviridov] Thank you. Thank you very much.

[Khakhulin] Good day. Retiree Aleksey Mikhaylovich Khakhulin, from Moscow, calling. I want to ask you a topical question.

[Ivashko] Good day, Aleksey Mikhaylovich, ask your question.

[Khakhulin] Do we have the necessary power structures to curb that overzealous politician, Boris Yeltsin? Please tell me.

[Ivashko] That is two questions in one. Do the power structures exist that could, as you put it, curb a politician?... But before the power structures go into action, you have to be sure that a person is violating Soviet laws. Isn't that right? And the other question concerns the position of a particular individual, and that includes Yeltsin. There are a good many people (as you could see from the recent rally) who share his views, but there are also many who categorically reject him. You will realize that a political process is developing, and in these circumstances relying on the use of force is probably not very constitutional.

[Khakhulin] Maybe so... In that case, I would like to take this opportunity to express my own opinion of Yeltsin. I live alone, I'm a very sick man, I used to live on the fifth story in a communal apartment, in a bloc without an elevator. When Yeltsin was secretary of the city party committee, I tried to get to see him. They wouldn't even give me an appointment, that was what the system was like. Or another thing. Last year Yeltsin went to Sverdlovsk—he refused to receive a delegation of Afghanistan veterans, our boys. That's treason!

[Ivashko] If you know of such cases and are sure of their authenticity—come out and say so. The press is open to everyone now.

[Demidov] Demidov, from Sokolnikov.

[Ivashko] What should I call you?

[Demidov] Nikolay Ivanovich. I'll ask you straight out: Why do the "democrats" publish unregistered printed matter? It's against the law!

[Ivashko] Yes, if an unregistered newspaper is published, that is against the law. Incidentally, can you name one?

[Demidov] They are all like that, the vast majority of them.

[Ivashko] All of them?! Hardly. The fact is that there are newspapers, even openly anticommunist ones, but they are registered. Times have changed, my dear Nikolay Ivanovich. You have to learn to live with reality: Support what is dear to your heart and wage a constructive battle against what you don't accept.

[Khareyko] Belorussia, Mogilev City. My name is Ivan Fedorovich Khareyko, I have been a CPSU member since 1944, a retired colonel.

[Ivashko] I hear you, Ivan Fedorovich.

[Khareyko] Why is it that all kinds of scum get up on the rostrum and sling mud at our party? And we keep quiet, we don't hold rallies or anything. It is time to give them a fitting rebuff.

[Ivashko] As for a rebuff, we should all work together to rebuff them. That is my opinion. As for rallies, you must have noticed the 23 February rallies. Across the country, millions of people turned out. I would venture to assure you that the CPSU Central Committee now occupies a firm stance, but we very much count on your support, on your direct participation—and that of all our motherland's patriots, young people and veterans.

(From a conversation on the line: "...It's some colonel complaining about people slinging mud... He's calling them scum...").

[Minosyan] Gay Manukovich Minosyan calling.

[Ivashko] I'm listening, Comrade Minosyan.

[Minosyan] If a decision is adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, it is binding on party members?

[Ivashko] Yes.

[Minosyan] Then why do some communist deputies put forward different opinions at sessions at various levels?

[Ivashko] The fact is that people did not elect the soviets on the basis of party affiliation. There are now some deputies who left the party long ago. Others are still carrying a party card, but they think and act against the party's policy. What can you say about communists like that? A proposal on reregistration for party members is now being discussed. I think we will inevitably reach that stage. But not too fast. In general, with a multiparty system it is a normal phenomenon for a party member to uphold his social organization's views in an organ of power.

[Ayzenshteyn] I am a member of the Soviet sociological association of the federation of Marxist party clubs, my name is Vladimir Anatolyevich Ayzenshteyn. I once wrote to Gorbachev to say that in an emergency you could take the step of creating an underground communist party. And couldn't you open an account for that purpose in a Swiss bank, like Stalin's daughter had? I don't see anything terrible about that. What do you think of this idea, is it possible?

[Ivashko] As for accounts in Swiss banks, my answer is this: First you have to have something to put in the bank. As far as our party is concerned, it has virtually no foreign currency. Only what comes in as dues from communists working abroad. And at the moment that is the only revenue, although we intend to engage in some economic activity that is not contrary to the CPSU's statutory objectives.

About going underground. Maybe I'm an incorrigible optimist, but even sociological research shows that there is no need for us to go underground, and God forbid there ever will be. Moreover, I will tell you something. Today one in nine of the people who left the party last year is asking to be readmitted. Last year alone—and I think that was the most difficult year for the party in recent decades—we admitted hundreds of thousands of people to the party. I think in terms of toughness these communists are equal to those who joined our ranks in 1941-1943. I think the analogy is obvious.

[Shotin] Major Sergey Shotin from Novosibirsk, district political directorate deputy chief for Komsomol work. I realize, Vladimir Antonovich, that nowadays there are more questions and answers. But all the same. For the last two years a discussion has been taking place at all levels about the expediency of holding a joint CPSU Central Committee and Komsomol Central Committee plenum on youth problems. But nothing has come of it yet. And yet a highly intensive struggle is now in progress for our young people. As long as we don't miss the opportunity and lose a significant proportion of young people...

[Ivashko] The Central Committee recently formulated a program of work with young people. And among other things, a joint plenum is on the agenda.

I myself consider youth problems to be highly important. But we must get away from the practice of counting young party supporters in millions. It is better to have smaller numbers of better people, who are more ideologically committed, more closely rallied. As for your question about a joint plenum, I take it as a kind of spur—we must decide precisely when we are going to hold this important event.

[Kapochkin] Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kapochkin, I'm calling you from the hospital.

[Ivashko] Ivashko listening.

[Kapochkin] I have a specific question: When will the party finally come out of its trenches, when will it go onto the offensive?

[Ivashko] As far as the Central Committee Secretariat is concerned, we came out of the trenches a long time ago. Judge for yourself. After all, we only recently started working in our new composition. But look how much has been done. To some degree it is even significant that in just the last six months we have held four Central Committee plenums. At least, nothing similar had happened in living memory. So I have legitimate grounds for thinking that we have come out of the trenches and stopped stonewalling. And not only us—many party organizations. Maybe not everything is working out yet, but you have to remember that we are working under new conditions. We still have to learn how.

[Vasilyevna] Galina Nikolayevna Vasilyevna, from Moscow, calling. I am a scientific staffer, not a party member, but I am very worried about the decline in the CPSU's prestige. I attribute it to the party's unclear political position on the question of private ownership. It is no secret that we have cooperatives where the labor of hired workers is exploited mercilessly, in the most primitive ways. And it looks as if the communists, except for noting the fact, are doing nothing about it, although the existence of such "firms" is contrary both to our people's socialist choice and to the USSR Constitution. And, indeed, to the logic of contemporary economics. I would like to know, do you intend to do anything to eliminate this evil?

[Ivashko] Galina Nikolayevna, that is a big and very difficult question. If you want to know my opinion, we can only succeed in the conditions of a mixed economy. But with strict observance of constitutional norms.

[Vasilyevna] Precisely!

[Ivashko] Equal initial opportunities should be guaranteed for everyone. Unfortunately, in the present situation, transformations whose aims are generally noble have brought to the surface a new class...

[Vasilyevna] The Soviet bourgeoisie.

[Ivashko] Yes, maybe. And that class has all the characteristics that Marx wrote about, and people before him. It has brought to our society everything that characterizes the period of initial accumulation of capital. That is totally incompatible both with party policy and with the USSR Constitution. It is therefore necessary to strengthen the constitutional order. And only in those conditions can there be any cooperatives in which you and I will be able to work with a clear conscience. But we must know for sure that Soviet laws reliably protect our rights. Because, whatever anyone may be saying now, we do not intend to abandon the socialist choice. Or if we did, the people would simply not understand, and would not support us. For the simple reason that the people's character has formed over the decades, and the smart dealers and politicians who have emerged recently certainly do not reflect the masses' feelings.

[Vasilyevna] Thank you. I wish you active work in this sphere. And we—all the working people—we will support you.

[Ivashko] Thanks to you too, Galina Nikolayevna. Join our party, don't be afraid.

[Vasilyevna] If you go on working in that direction, a great many people will join you. [Dialogue ends]

V.A. Ivashko's dialogue with readers continued beyond the allotted time. In all, more than 30 telephone calls were taken. Vladimir Antonovich asked us to report via the newspaper that he will answer all the requests that were put to him.

Ivashko Chairs Meeting on Women's Affairs

LD2803171591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] A routine sitting of the CPSU Secretariat has taken place under the chairmanship of Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. At the sitting, the CPSU Central Committee's commission on Women and Family Affairs outlined proposals concerning the main directions of the party's work with women and the women's movement. Semenova, chairman of the commission and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, outlined the reasons why it is necessary to update this work. Comrade Ivashko summed up the results of the discussion. It has been decided to convey the proposals that have been outlined to local party committees as CPSU Central Committee recommendations on how to organize practical work in order to radically restructure the party's activities in the field of women's interests and the women's movement.

Party Problems Amid Political Pluralism Viewed

LD2703213191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 27 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Roman Grigoryev]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar (TASS)—Communists urgently need to seek new principles for activity in relations with the various political forces existing in the country. This was one of the main ideas expressed at the two-day conference on "the CPSU's activity in conditions of political pluralism," wich ended here today. Party officials, academics, and people's deputies took part.

In the opinion of Valentin Kuptsov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who spoke at the conference, communists have to reach a psychological recognition of the presence of other political forces in society. "We shall not conceal the fact that we are still only learning how to perceive the views of our political opponents. Formerly, the CPSU hardly faced this problem: Its

leading role was clearly designated in the constituion, and the party grew into the state structures. In short, there was no reason to seek contacts with opponents," he said.

The CPSU is proposing businesslike cooperation with various political forces. A department for ties with social and political organizations has already been working in the Central Committee for a year. However, as was noted at the conference, some of those organizations which call themselves democratic are in now way taking on board the formula of cooperation. They are making no secret of their confrontation with the CPSU and acting with methods that are far from civilized. The "down with" slogan put forward by them is confronting the CPSU with the need to adopt the tactic of an imposed fight.

The participants in the conference worked in sections. This enabled them to select the greatest number of topical problems for discussion. The discussion of such issues as the parliamentary activity of communists, the Communist Party's fight for political leadership, and the role of the mass media as a multiparty system comes into being aroused the most interest.

Nezvorov Views 'Television News Service'

LD2903000191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2126 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Interview with "600 Seconds" host Aleksandr Nezvorov by correspondent L. Obokhova, in a Lenmingrad Television studio, date not given; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Text] [Obokhova] We are in the busiest studio of Leningrad Television. Our visit was made at not exactly the right time—the current issue of "600 Seconds" was being prepared.

Many are envious of you. Are you envious of anyone? Are you an envious person?

[Nevzorov] Yes, I am envious, envious of those whom nobody knows and about whom nobody bothers.

[Obukhova] What do you think about the TSN ["Television News Service"]—mainly, the commentators—being dispersed to their homes?

[Nevozorov] This was the right position, this was an absolutely correct position. Because, generally a rather unexpected—as everything is those days—lack of human courage was present there. It is easy to adopt a popular decision. But try to adopt an unpopular decision and bear the responsibility for it. Regarding TSN, shall I say that if it took a thousand years to create our country only so that its disintegration in 1991 should serve as good news material for the information show, then long live TSN.

[Obukhova] Excuse me, but those who continued working with them are being called strike-breakers. What do you think of this?

[Nevzorov] I think it is perfectly normal for people to carry out their civil and natural duty. Boys, we cannot afford music and songs at this point, now that this country is in such a desperate, horrible situation. Therefore, let us not make a tragedy out of this, we shall have a million information programs yet. This program was now specifically calling for the disintegration of the Union, and they really did. I read one of the interviews of the TSN journalists in an independent newspaper and was amazed at what they were writing. They were writing: All our information is correct, people sent it to us, whose names sometimes we do not even know.

[Obukhova] Are you a happy man?

[Nevzorov] God knows, I am not sure.

Union Referendum Results Published

PM2703150191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 91 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Report by USSR Referendum Central Commission: "On Results of 17 March 1991 USSR Referendum"]

[Text] By a decision of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies and on the basis of the USSR Supreme Soviet 16 January 1991 resolution the following question was put to a nationwide vote (referendum): "Do you believe it essential to preserve the USSR as a renewed federation of equal sovereign republics in which the rights and freedoms of a person of any nationality will be fully guaranteed?"

The referendum on this question was held in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] (footnote) (names of the republics are given in accordance with the existing USSR Constitution), the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], the Belorussian SSR, the Uzbek SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, the Kirghiz SSR, the Tajik SSR, the Turkmen SSR, the republics belonging to the RSFSR, the Uzbek SSR, and the Azerbaijan SSR, in the Abkhaz ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], which is part of the Georgian SSR, and also in districts and precincts formed at Soviet institutions and in military units abroad.

In the Kazakh SSR voting at the USSR referendum was on a question formulated by the republic's Supreme Soviet: "Do you believe it essential to preserve the USSR as a Union of equal sovereign states?" Here the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium officially asked that the results of the vote be included in the overall results of the USSR referendum.

In the Georgian SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Moldavian SSR, Latvian SSR, Armenian SSR, and Estonian SSR, and in the Adzhar ASSR, which is part of the Georgian SSR, where republican central referendum commissions were not created, a number of local soviets of people's deputies, labor collectives, and public associations at enterprises and in institutions and organizations and also the command of the military units, guided by points three

and five of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "on the course of the fulfillment of the USSR resolution on the organization of the 17 March 1991 USSR referendum and measures to back it up," independently formed districts and precincts and district and precinct commissions registered by the USSR Referendum Central Commission. That enabled some of the citizens living on the territory of these republics to take part in the referendum.

In accordance with Article 24 of the USSR Law "On the USSR Nationwide Vote (Referendum)" and the USSR Supreme Soviet 16 January 1991 and 25 February 1991 resolutions on questions of holding the 17 March 1991 referendum and on the basis of the protocols of the republican USSR referendum central commissions and the district and precinct commissions formed in the republics where republican central referendum commissions were not created and on the basis of protocols on the results of the votes of Soviet citizens in foreign countries and military units abroad, the USSR Referendum Central Commission has established the following:

For the USSR as a whole:
The lists of citizens with the right to take part in the USSR referendum included 185,647,355 people; 148,574,606 people, or 80 percent, took part.

Of these:
Some 113,512,812 people, or 76.4 percent, answered "yes";
Some 32,303,977 people, or 21.7 percent, answered "no";
Some 2,757,817 ballot slips, or 1.9 percent, were deemed invalid.

Results of the referendum for the individual republics are characterized by the following figures:

	Number of Citizens Included in Voting Lists	Number of Citizens Participating in Absolute Terms	As a Percentage	Number of Citizens Answering "Yes"	As a Percentage	Number of Citizens Answering "No"	As a Percentage	Number of Invalid Ballots	As a Percentage
RSFSR	105,643,364	79,701,169	75.4	56,860,783	71.3	21,030,753	26.4	1,809,633	2.3
Ukrainian SSR	37,732,178	31,514,244	83.5	22.110,899	70.2	8,820,089	28.0	583,256	1.8
Belorussian SSR	7,354,796	6,126,983	83.3	5,069,313	82.7	986,079	16.1	71,591	1.2
Uzbek SSR	10,287,938	9,816,333	95.4	9,196,848	93.7	511,373	5.2	108,112	1.1
Kazakh SSR	9,999,433	8,816,543	88.2	8,295,519	94.1	436,560	5.0	84,464	0.9
Azerbaijan SSR	3,866,659	2,903,797	75.1	2,709,246	93.3	169,225	5.8	25,326	0.9
Kirghiz SSR	2,341,646	2,174,593	92.9	2,057,971	94.6	86,245	4.0	30,377	1.4
Tajik SSR	2,549,096	2,407,552	94.4	2,315,755	96.2	75,300	3.1	16,497	0.7
Turkmen SSR	1,847,310	1,804,138	97.7	1,766,584	97.9	31,203	1.7	6,351	0.4
Bashkir ASSR	2,719,637	2,221,158	81.7	1,908,875	85.9	269,007	12.1	43,276	2.0
Buryat ASSR	668,231	535,802	80.2	447,438	83.5	78,167	14.6	10,197	1.9
Dagestan ASSR	1,008,626	812,009	80.5	670,488	82.6	131,522	16.2	9,999	1.2
Kabardino-Balkar ASSR	489,436	372,607	76.1	290,380	77.9	77,339	20.8	4,888	1.3
Kalmyk ASSR	204,301	169,124	82.8	148,462	87.8	17,833	10.5	2,829	1.7
Karelian ASSR	551,644	418,101	75.8	317,854	76.0	92,703	22.2	7,544	1.8
Komi ASSR	797,049	543,403	68.2	412,842	76.0	119,678	22.0	10,883	2.0
Mari ASSR	525,685	418,599	79.6	333,319	79.6	77,239	18.5	8,041	1.9

Results of the referendum for the individual republics are characterized by the following figures: (Continued)

Mordovian ASSR	677,706	571,631	84.3	459,021	80.3	101,886	17.8	10,724	1.9
North Ossetian ASSR	428,307	367,858	85.9	331,823	90.2	32,786	8.9	3,249	0.9
Tatar ASSR	2,532,383	1,951,768	77.1	1,708,193	87.5	211,516	10.8	32,059	1.7
Tuva ASSR	171,731	138,496	80.6	126,598	91.4	9,404	6.8	2,494	1.8
Udmurt ASSR	1,103,083	819,140	74.3	622,714	76.0	180,289	22.0	16,137	2.0
Chechen-Ingush ASSR	712,139	419,012	58.8	318,059	75.9	94,737	22.6	6,216	1.5
Chuvash ASSR	900,913	748,420	83.1	616,387	82.4	113,249	15.1	18,784	2.5
Yakutsk ASSR	688,679	541,993	78.7	415,712	76.7	116,798	21.6	9,483	1.8
Karakalpak ASSR	584,208	577,717	98.9	563,916	97.6	10,133	1.8	3,668	0.6
Abkhaz ASSR	318,317	166,544	52.3	164,231	98.6	1,566	0.9	747	0.5
Nakhichevan ASSR	174,364	35,866	20.6	31,328	87.3	3,620	10.1	918	2.6

For districts and precincts formed in republics where central republican referendum commissions were not created (except for the results of voting for districts and precincts in military units)

	Number of Citizens Included in Voting Lists	Number of Citizens Participating in Absolute Terms	As a Percentage	Number of Citizens Answering "Yes"	As a Percentage	Number of Citizens Answering "No"	As a Percentage	Number of Invalid Ballots	As a Percentage
Georgian SSR (footnote 1)	45,696	44,012	96.3	43,950	99.9	9	—	53	0.1
Lithuanian SSR	582,262	501,375	86.1	496,050	98.9	4,355	0.9	970	0.2
Moldavian SSR	841,507	700,893	83.3	688,905	98.3	8,916	1.3	3,072	0.4
Latvian SSR	670,828	436,783	65.1	415,147	95.1	18,015	4.1	3,621	0.8
Armenian SSR	4,923	3,549	72.1	2,541	71.6	966	27.2	42	1.2
Estonian SSR	299,681	222,240	74.2	211,090	95.0	10,040	4.5	1,110	0.5
Adzhar ASSR (footnote 2)									
Units [footnote 3]	1,261,721	1,233,858	97.8	1,107,980	89.8	113,283	9.2	12,595	1.0

Thus the majority of the country's citizens who took part in the referendum expressed themselves in favor of the need to preserve the USSR as a renewed federation of equal sovereign republics in which the rights and freedoms of a person of any nationality will be fully guaranteed.

Footnotes

1. Without the results of voting for the Abkhaz ASSR.

2. The results of the voting for the precincts formed in the Adzhar ASSR in military units are included in the results of the referendum for the country as a whole.

[3. The entry "Units" in the left-hand column designates "for districts and precincts formed in military units in republics where central republican referendum commissions were not created (taking into account the members of servicemen's families included on additional lists and other citizens deprived of the opportunity to vote at their place of residence) and also for districts and precincts at Soviet institutions and in military units abroad"]

[Signed] USSR Referendum Central Commission 26 March 1991.

Economic

Reports Continue on Tension, Strikes in Mines

LD2803153191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] According to information received at the oblast soviet of people's deputies, 37 out of 101 coal mining enterprises in the Kuznetsk field and three shaft-sinking directorates are not working today. Thus, the scale of the strike has declined somewhat; however, the situation of iron and steel workers, power engineers, and employees in the coking byproduct industry remains extremely tense. Coal extraction lost as a result of the strike has reached almost 1.7 million tonnes.

[Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1351 GMT on 28 March reports: "The scope of the miners' strike has widened. Last night eleven of the largest mines in Norilsk stopped work. The miners are demanding a two-fold increase in salaries, indexation of incomes with an adjustment for hyperinflation, and the right for every member of a labor collective to buy shares in the Norilsknikel concern."]

Gorbachev, Pavlov To Meet Miners 2 Apr

LD2903115691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1130 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the country's president, and Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov, chairman of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, have given their consent to begin talks with the miners on 2 April. An agreement has been reached that representatives of all the coal-extracting regions will take part in the Moscow conference. Each production association, each coal mine construction combine, and every striking collective will elect two or three delegates to this meeting. Approximately 170 delegates will take part in the conference.

This pleasing news was reported to us by Vladimir Georgiyevich Lunev, chairman of the Central Council of the Trade Union of USSR Coal Industry Workers. He expressed the hope that mutual understanding will be reached at the conference.

We recall that one of the demands for ending the miners' strike was the setting of a date for talks with the country's top leaders. Now that this demand has been met one supposes that the miners will get down to business without delay.

Vorkuta Miners Issue Ultimatum

LD2803234391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] To prevent the stoppage of the coke batteries of the Northern Magnitka and in response to the request from the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and the metallurgists of Cherepovetsk, the Vorkuta coordination council for the coal miners' strike has decided to supply the enterprise with the necessary amount of appropriate coal up to 1 April. A telegram sent to the USSR president, parliament, and Cabinet of Ministers says that if there are no corresponding steps on behalf of the government by the given date then coal supplies will be halted and all responsibility for the stoppage of the combine will be placed on the country's leadership. [passage omitted]

Pervomaysk, Lugansk Oblast—What the experts dreaded has happened at the Zolotoye mine of the Pervomayskugol association. The southern extraction face at the 687-meter level caved in as a result of standing idle for a prolonged time. The settled [otstoy-avshayasya] rock mass could not withstand its own weight and crushed the wooden mine props, buried the combine and blocked the way to the coal which the meagerly supplied coking byproduct plants need so much.

It will take not less than a month and considerable money to restore the face, when the money that is being lost is being counted already in tens of millions of rubles.

Seven of the association's eight mines have not been working since the beginning of the month. They have produced 200,000 tonnes of coal less than the plan requires, a third of which is coking coal. The losses are increasing also from cave-ins that have occurred. In addition, the second eastern face of the Pervomayskaya mine has crushed. The mine props at the Karbonit, Gorskaya, Rodina, and other mines are cracking.

TV Update on Strike, Demands

LD2803195291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Mar 91

[TASS attributed report from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Vorkuta today the participants of a townwide meeting of striking miners confirmed the intention of the Komi region's miners to strike until direct talks begin between representatives of the Pechora coalfield and the head of the USSR Government. To their economic demands the miners of Vorkuta and Inta have added political ones. The workers of 10 out of 13 Vorkuta

mines—of which five are completely at a standstill—and also all the mines of the Intaugol concern are taking part in the strike in the Komi region.

In Donetsk Oblast the collectives of 21 mines out of its 122 coalmining enterprises are on strike. The miners continue to insist on the fulfillment of their economic demands.

Half Donetsk Coalminers Return to Work

LD2803182291 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 27 Mar 91

[Summary] In Donetsk Oblast the number of coal mines whose workforce is out on strike has fallen by half; only 16 remain in defiant mood. In Lugansk Oblast the strike continues in seven mines. And in the Lvov-Volynian coal basin, the miners of 17 collieries still refuse to return to the coal faces.

Since the beginning of March almost 3 million tons of coal have been lost in the Ukraine because of the strike.

Strike Threatens Power Plant

LD2703190391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 27 Mar 91

[Report by station correspondent in Lvov]

[Text] Four power units have been shut down at the Burshtyn state regional electric power station, largest electric power station in the Western Ukraine. As a result of the strike by miners of the Lvovsko-Volynskiy coalfield, not a single tonne of coal has been delivered here in March. As a spokesman for the Lvov-Energo association stated today at a press conference for journalists of the central and republican press, if the field's miners do not go back to work in the next few days, the Burshytn power station will be shut down.

Losses in Kemerovo Reported

LD2903130291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] As our correspondent reports from Kemerovo, the miners' strike is continuing. According to the Kemerovo Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, 38 of 101 mines and three shaft-sinking directorates are not working today. The shipment debt accounts for 106 million tonnes of fuel. The miners themselves are also losing a lot. For example, the losses of only one mine in Kemerovo, Severnaya, exceed 1.5 million rubles. This is a month's wages fund for the whole collective.

Kuzbass Workers' Demands Discussed

914F0175A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 26 Mar 91 p 2

[Interview with Vyacheslav Golikov, leader of the Kuzbass workers movement and chairman of the council of oblast workers committees, by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA political observer Yuriy Makartsev in Kemerovo on 21 March: "A Special Opinion on the Kuzbass"]

[Text] **Is It Money You Want, or Freedom? Or—What?**

[Makartsev] Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich! Do you remember a year ago, in March, when there was a large gathering of leaders of oblast labor collectives in Kemerovo? At that time you had just returned from Moscow where, as part of a delegation from the Kuzbass, you had gone through another round of negotiations with the government—it was represented by Deputy Chairman L. Ryabev, and the present Deputy V. Pavlov. You returned, to use your words, empty-handed. "Where do we go from here?"—you asked your comrades in the labor movement.

Observing the course of the two-day discussion at that time and listening to the speakers, I reached a clear conviction: You had a balanced position and you and your colleagues would not abuse such a powerful instrument as a labor strike.

And now we have this March's action by the labor collectives: It has dealt a blow like a small atom bomb to an economy already suffering from anemia. What happened, Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich, why are the workers themselves, with their own hands, destroying the life support system of the people? Explain another thing as well: In their fiery passion politicians have always "applied the brakes" without giving much thought to the working person, but today the miners themselves are pouring oil on the fire of the political tension in the country. True?

[Golikov] We are being called so many things! Ignoramuses, egoists, extremists... People are even trying to make it look like the Kuzbass council of workers committees and all the strikers are calling the country to a civil war. This is not true. Although I cannot deny that there are some hotheads in our ranks. They say: Let us get a plane and fly to Moscow and impose order there. I would say this: "One shot from a catapult and I am out of there." Our weapon is the solidarity of the miners. It remains silent or takes action depending on whether we work or shut down the mines as we are doing today. Yes, these days we are striking. And why—you figure it out!

[Makartsev] Why indeed? After the strike in the summer of 1989 society drew its conclusions and repented: In many respects the miners are the outcasts of society. It is unfair, it is bad, and it is shameful. The government responded with the well-known decree No. 608, and, as USSR Minister of Justice S. Lushchikov reported recently in IZVESTIYA, it "was actually fulfilled from a legal standpoint." But how do you feel about it in the Kuzbass?

[Golikov] Our basic document is the protocol that was signed with the government, and we have nothing to do with decree No. 608. The government adopted it, so let the government monitor its implementation. We made a

statement about that a year ago. We said we did not claim any privileges envisioned by the decree and we did not ask the center for additional deliveries of carloads of industrial goods and sausage to the region. Give us a chance and we will decide for ourselves what to build in the Kuzbass and how and what we should do about other things!...

"Boys, what do you want?!"—we heard the straightforward criticism from our friends—from the Donbass to Vorkuta, when that resolution was made public. We can understand why miners in other regions hold onto decree No. 608 and want to "squeeze" everything they can from it... For the expiration date of the decree means that we must immediately disband the strike committees as is required by the Law on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes. We respect and understand our colleagues' position and we absolutely do not deny it. But we still think that the workers committees of the Kuzbass comprise a structure which is supported from below by the will of the working people and is not determined by documents sent down from above.

[Makartsev] Does this mean that you would like to create some kind of new authority which would dictate its will to the existing constitutional one? Unlike the striking miners of other regions, the miners of the Kuzbass do not seem to want higher wages. Obviously Prime Minister V. Pavlov will praise you for this: Where would he get the millions other than by starting up the inflationary printing press...

[Golikov] I recently went to speak at the Pervomayskaya mine. A discussion developed. One miner got up and said: "What am I supposed to do with 2,000 rubles [R] a month when I cannot even get rid of coupons worth R82?"

While traveling around the oblast I am separated from my family and I rarely go into the stores. One time my wife sent me to the store for some potatoes and I was amazed: What prices! Of course, one can demand two or three times higher wages, and I would say even a 10-fold increase would be fair—and that is no joke. And the miners are making demands, although they are well aware of the difficult situation in the country. Selfishness? It is simply that the people do not want to finance the activity of an unpopular government. They think like this: Give us our hard-earned money, give us what we deserve, and we shall see what kind of an agreement we can reach with you...

[Makartsev] Does the Kuzbass not believe Moscow? But yet you began with economic demands and traveled to the capital asking for something dearer than money—economic freedom. Is this why, as soon as the door to economic independence was opened with the invitation to the market, the workers committees immediately placed on the government's table a prepared draft and a justification for a free enterprise zone in the region. Did you make any progress here—did you get beyond Sakhalin or Leningrad? Or perhaps you dealt a blow to politics because in economics you ran up against a brick wall again and gave up? Or were there special conditions for you again?

[Golikov] In past months we have understood one thing: It is a waste of time to ask for anything in this system. This pertains to the draft on the free enterprise zone as well. A number of the points in our concept require the establishment of special laws for the Kuzbass. Well, a bureaucrat, regardless of where he may sit—in the Union government, the Russian government, or the oblast ispolkom [executive committee]—is still a bureaucrat. Things are slowed down.

We are not fostering any illusions about the Russian government either. If it does not accept our proposals—we will fight...

"Get Rid of Them All!"

[Makartsev] Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich! Our society is suffering from many ailments, and one of them is the enthusiasm for denying everything and anything. Until recently it was politicians at various levels who specialized in this. But when we look at the list of demands of the miners' strike in March 1991: It is pure politics! The country's leading coal region has become an immense square for rallies. Why did this happen all of a sudden?

[Golikov] Our political demands did not arise "all of a sudden." Even in the protocol we signed with the government one can find these lines: Economic and financial independence of enterprises is impossible without changes in society's political structures.

They tell us: Political demands are the extreme; why not try other forms and methods of resolving the social contradictions and searching for an agreement: declarations, rallies, demonstrations... We have been through all that. We have had negotiations with the government. In July 1990 we held a large strike (with 300,000 participants) with purely political demands. One of them in particular was to recall from the USSR Supreme Soviet all the deputies from social organizations. But the central authorities in Moscow acted as though nothing serious were happening in the Kuzbass. All right. The miners swallowed the insult in silence. Today, a year later, we are repeating the strike but with a broader political program: retire the entire Union Supreme Soviet and disband the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, since this structure, in our view, is cumbersome and does not work as it should. But only the congress itself can dissolve the congress. And who wants to commit suicide?! Our situation is a difficult one, and we are well aware of that. Of course, nobody will decide to dissolve the parliament; that is clear. Therefore we say: And we will not work. How, with what, by what means will you govern if the mines stand idle? Think about that...

[Makartsev] Do you think your demands are constitutional when you are actually insisting on driving out the USSR Supreme Soviet? Or, tell me, Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich, what is it that you did not like about Prime

Minister V. Pavlov? Give him some time to adapt to the difficult role of head of the cabinet, which is a new one to him, and then start to judge whether he is suitable or not. But right off the bat you want him to retire!

[Golikov] G. Yavlinskiy's program could have been accepted or not, discussed or criticized, since it physically existed. I myself had serious objections to it. We might not be against working with V. Pavlov, but how can we? He came to power without his own program for strengthening the economy and, judging from everything, he does not intend to present one yet. The only thing we have heard from him is that the prime minister is preparing to take a number of unpopular measures and he intends to conduct them fairly harshly. Does the government have the moral right to begin its activity that way, without having first won the confidence of the people? Self-confidence could cost us all a lot...

[Makartsev] And how is one to understand your "Retire the president!"? Are you serious about that? Or does the way the question is stated have its own internal philosophy?

[Golikov] The point is that at the level of the USSR in the renewed society, in principle we see no functions for the president at all. According to our ideas, the sovereign republics will create some kind of new central administrative organ and they will decide who will be at the head of it. But as far as getting rid of Gorbachev specifically goes—we have no such demands.

We are well aware that if they replace Mikhail Sergeyevich, say, with Yazov, the country and the people will be faced with difficult new problems. Our demand for his retirement is more like a warning to the president that some of his steps are automatically preparing for a dictatorship, which perhaps he himself does not want. And I believe that Gorbachev does not want a dictatorship...

My personal viewpoint is that Mikhail Sergeyevich has done a very great deal for the country, and nobody can say that his service to the people has not been great. Even the fact that we have begun to speak with our own voice is largely thanks to him. Unfortunately, Gorbachev is starting to turn backward. A clear example of this is television: Why not give some of the air time to Russia?

Six years have passed and the people can see that life has become worse and the prospects they face are bad also. After all, Gorbachev promised to move toward radical economic reforms and—he has held them up... So his authority among the people could diminish. And we would like Gorbachev to remain in people's memory as the great figure he really is.

[Makartsev] Does it not seem to you, Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich, that to "see" or "not see" the presidency in the power system of the Union is too serious a matter to decide at the level of the workers committee, even if it is of the "whole" Kuzbass! The present language of political ultimatums of workers committees reminds one of some style of appeal of certain radical parties. Perhaps we are dealing with a new phenomenon? In words, you are in favor of democracy but actually you are establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat in a certain region. The same thing that was previously declared to be the state ideology in our country and was replaced by the real power of the bureaucracy... The proletariat of the Kuzbass has closed its ranks, is giving orders to Moscow, and is dictating to the highest power organs... Is this true or not?

[Golikov] In the first place, when we are reproached for acting against the first democratically elected parliament in the history of the country, we respond: Let us think about whether it was really elected democratically or not. Let us recall where and how deputies from women's and trade union organizations and from the CPSU appeared in the Supreme Soviet. In the second place, we do not intend to dictate. And we never did. The political strike in July 1990 (retirement of deputies from social organizations and depoliticization of state organs) was intended to warn the president: Think, Mikhail Sergeyevich! Nobody was listening to us. And then the workers thought this way: Since nobody is paying any attention to our suggestions, we will not pay any attention to the difficult situation the state is in. We will stop working and nobody will be able to make us go back...

Who Is Directing the Workers' Movement

[Makartsev] Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich! First, excuse me for such a direct question. There are people who think that before the spring of 1990 the workers movement of the Kuzbass developed as a politically independent movement and its main goal was protecting the rights of the working man. And then the political confrontation in the higher echelons of power forced the leaders of the workers committees to choose one of the "figures" as well. They also say: Since Vyacheslav Golikov became one of the advisers to the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the workers movement itself has been "in Yeltsin's pocket." Excuse me again, but is there any real basis for such judgments?

[Golikov] When Yeltsin came to Kemerovo and met with the council of workers committees of the Kuzbass, we told him precisely and clearly: "Boris Nikolayevich! We believe not simply in Yeltsin, we believe in the policy you are implementing." That is, we retained the right to express our opinion to Yeltsin's face. And, believe me, if he begins to be evasive and sidestep, we will all tell him what we think of him. This is our position, this is what it has been in the past, and this is what it will continue to be.

Now about the fact that I ended up as an adviser to Yeltsin. I held the same position there, and I expressed it repeatedly to the head of the Russian parliament. In particular, I do not completely agree with certain of Boris Nikolayevich's suggestions and actions—I told him about them as well. In a word, I think we are fairly autonomous and independent of one another...

[Makartsev] Are you a consultant on the workers movement in Yeltsin's council?

[Golikov] This is the purpose of the council as I understand it. Boris Nikolayevich would like to hear various viewpoints on various complicated problems that are crucial at the given moment. We members of the council express our opinions in a free discussion; which decisions to adopt—that is his business.

All this talk about my ending up "there" meaning that I will be carrying out instructions "from above"... People saying that we are following Yeltsin. If you will, he is following us. For instance, the workers committees made a demand for the retirement of the Supreme Soviet, and later Boris Nikolayevich repeated the same demand.

[Makartsev] Quite recently, Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich, as I recall, you welcomed cooperation of people with various political convictions within the ranks of the Kuzbass workers' movement. According to some observations, anticommunism is now trying to "stick" to the movement like glue. For some, anticommunism is a conviction, for others, it is the fashion... For the workers movement, as experience teaches us, friendship with it means a road to a blind alley, to historical death.

[Golikov] I can say quite certainly that this is not true among us. Although I myself am not a communist and I was never a member of the CPSU, I am not an anticommunist. Malicious tongues have it that we have threatened to crucify the communists. That is a lie. Analyze our statements and documents—the bureaucracy has taught us as well to be careful with our paperwork. Here you will discover, for example, our fundamental approach: At work one must work and not engage in politics. In the mines and at the enterprises there should be no structures of the CPSU, the Democratic Union, the "Travkin party," or any others. None! And I can assure you that you will find no signs of anticommunism in our minutes.

But I am afraid that my position might be changed by the actions of the Russian Communist Party. And I warned the former first secretary of the Kemerovo CPSU Obkom, A. Melnikov, about this: There is no need for us to look for enemies on the outside. There are enemies within our walls. Some of the things you do cause strong dissatisfaction among the people. If you will, I and the worker committees have done more for the authority of the CPSU than the whole Russian Communist Party has. God forbid that a confrontation will lead us to undying hatred and a hysterical shouting match: Hang them!... If that happens I will be the first to leave the political arena.

[Makartsev] Incidentally, the "Travkin party" and other political formations—are they popular in the workers committees and in the Kuzbass as a whole?

[Golikov] Travkin came to our congress in Novokuznetsk, and before the meeting he started talking to me and trying to persuade me to get the miners to adopt a resolution supporting his party. I answered: "Nikolay Ilich, we do not support anyone without a good reason. A resolution in support of any one political party would not pass." He did not believe me. The congress began. I turned the floor over to Travkin, he spoke, and he was well received. The eloquent Nikolay Ilich proposed that the audience vote for his resolution. And what happened? They did not support Travkin. Because—I will repeat our position: There are no parties in economics. But we are prepared to cooperate with Travkin and with any other parties, including the CPSU, depending on what they are prepared to offer.

[Makartsev] The Kuzbass workers committees originated after the summer strike of 1989. Time has confirmed their viability. In the elections to the oblast soviet your comrades received 34 mandates. You yourself, Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich, have become a deputy of the oblast soviet, and the economic ideologist of the workers committees, Mikhail Kislyuk, has become deputy chairman of the oblast ispolkom and an RSFSR people's deputy.

What is this: Has a parallel power structure been formed in the workers committees in the Kuzbass? After all, it was you, and not the chairman of the oblast soviet, A. Tuleyev, who was in charge during the days of the strike: You decided how many miners would walk out and how many would work...

[Golikov] A parallel power structure? No way—we have no claim to power; we think it should belong to the soviets. During the days of the 1989 strike the real power in the region actually did belong to the workers committees, but we did not take advantage of it. Why? We remember how everything went in 1917 and what that led to. If the workers had actually come to power as a working class, I am sure that "representatives" would have been found here who would have spoken and ruled on their behalf. And all the same things would have happened all over again.

In the oblast soviet here we have representatives of workers committees plus those who support us and actually represent a certain force. Fifty votes! The main thing is that we have behind us not only the voters but also the striking enterprises. Sometimes we are rebuked for impeding the work of the oblast soviet. We have impeded and will continue to impede the passage of decisions we think contradict the interests of the labor collectives.

Our oblast soviet cannot be considered professional in the full sense of the word. It is drawn to populism. Ah, how attractive it is on the outside—take and divide up the money from that fat oblast budget into small sums. For you—R200, for you—R100, for you—R50... But that same money could be used for the development of serious socioeconomic programs that are important to the oblast.

[Makartsev] The problem of many oblast soviets is not only that many deputies do not have management and

organizational skills; they cannot get along with one another politically either. There is also a unique situation in Kemerovo: The popular chairman of the oblast soviet A. Tuleyev and the strong chairman of the oblast council of workers committees V. Golikov. Do you clash, does thunder roar?

[Golikov] It makes no difference to me personally who is in charge of the oblast soviet: Ivanov, Petrov, Tuleyev—as long as they do their job! We, the deputies standing on the platform of the workers committees, are the only deputy group who have put forth a concrete program of vital transformations. They accepted this program and everything seemed to be all right. But they also accepted changes, which ruined our program as a whole. In the oblast soviet they argue about two principles: The distribution principle—that is Tuleyev's. And ours: We think that Kemerovo Oblast should earn its own money to live on...

I have no faith in Tuleyev and I never will. I said that outright even during the days of the first session of the oblast soviet when speaking on television: At his first opportunity the chairman of the oblast soviet will stab the workers movement in the back... At that time Tuleyev threatened to sue me for slander. Time passed and he, Aman Gumirovich, started to demand that the workers committees be disbanded. Who should be suing whom?!

Last week the chairman of the oblast soviet met with the president and spoke with Mikhail Sergeyevich about the miners' strike. But why did Tuleyev ignore the workers committees? Did the striking enterprises authorize Tuleyev to conduct a dialogue with Gorbachev on their behalf?

What Next, Comrade Strikers?

[Makartsev] Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich! May I tell how you became the leader of the Kuzbass workers: The 38-year-old Golikov, with a secondary technical education, was working as an electric welder at the Pervomayskaya mine, and last year he replaced T. Avaliani as chairman of the oblast council of workers committees.

[Golikov] During the days of the first miners' strike I was followed into the workers movement by my two brothers—Vladimir and Georgiy. All three of us were tempered in the mines. But, alas, we no longer work there. But we did not go far from the mine...

[Makartsev] Did you find your calling in the new role of ruler of the thoughts of the people of labor? Who are you now, Vyacheslav Golikov—the Stenka Razin of the present day, even if it is completely out of fashion to look back to role models from the beginning of the century.

[Golikov] My life, of course, is hard: travel, business meetings, hotels—months without my family, but in the midst of people who think as I do. I do not regret my choice. But a calling? Hardly... It is simply that the social conditions appeared for me to reveal certain qualities of my personality. With all of its shortcomings and difficulties, our time makes it possible for many people to reveal their internal inclinations.

[Makartsev] Let us return, Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich, to our uneasy daily life. You understand quite well: In a civilized society there is a limit beyond which collective protest which defends certain positions of some of the citizens can become an evil for the population of the country as a whole. The state is moving toward an economic catastrophe. One can only strike until the pulse disappears—is it not time to stop? What is your prognosis?...

[Golikov] Now I cannot speak on behalf of the entire council of workers committees. But I think the compromise necessary for calling off the strike is possible. We would like to hear from the president that we really are entering on the path of radical economic reforms and that they really are about to depoliticize the Army, Ministry of Internal Affairs organs, the KGB, and the public education system. I think there could be conditions for a compromise here...

[Makartsev] I hear from other comrades of yours that you insist on meeting with the president, that you have already notified him of that... But the conditions for negotiations with the miners are known: Stop the strike. What are we to do?...

FROM THE EDITORS

We published the interview with Vyacheslav Golikov to gain a better idea not only of the demands of the Kuzbass miners collectives but also the motivations for the demands, the primary causes, their roots, as it were. Some statements in the interview give rise to debate. Now about the main contradiction in the judgments of the talented leader Golikov: In words he categorically calls for "not mixing" politics and economics, but in reality the workers committees that have gone on strike are setting political priorities as the main condition for whether the miners work or not. This is sad, to say the least. This could be the road to poverty from which it is impossible to turn back, either for the mining regions or for all of us together. This throws us backward on the path that leads to a civilized society and a rule-of-law state. In the West they look at us and are amazed: Where do people in Russia get their food and commodities if, instead of working, all they do is run around to rallies or when their political sympathies are offended they stop working completely?! And why do they blame the USSR president for this when they themselves are organizing the resistance to the reforms he is conducting.

Of course, we agree, in the near future the people's main adviser as to whether to strike or not will be the forms of ownership. Thus in the Kuzbass today one of the coal mines that has been changed over completely to leasing continues to produce products at its customary pace. There it is—an informal agitator for the incipient market economy; its idol is not some politician or other but His Majesty economic incentive.

Herein lies the difficulty of the present situation. We do not have a mechanism for getting out of political strikes. How do they stop? Wait until political intuition prompts people, many of whom were never interested in politics before? It is strange that the head of the Russian government, I. Silayev, who was in Kemerovo last week, did not see our common tragedy in the miners' resolve to continue the strike and did not take advantage of the force of his authority in the region to help the people get out of this difficult impasse. Is this not also in the interests of the republic, whose economy is collapsing before their eyes?! Or do the adviser to the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the premier of Russia have different positions? Knowing the desire of the representatives of the Kuzbass workers committees to speak with the president of the USSR, we would advise Golikov and his companions to think at least about a moratorium on the strike... From there they could start building bridges of mutual understanding. This is for Golikov and his comrades to decide...

Incidentally, one mining enterprise of Vorkuta asked RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA to act as the intermediary in negotiations with V. Pavlov. And they gave their word not to begin the strike until they received an answer from the USSR prime minister. We intend to give as much help as we can both to them and to other mining collectives who today are prepared to call off the strike and return to the usual rhythm of mining life. The "miners' region" is oppressing the country; it needs the miners' coal.

Geology Minister Views Mineral Resources

LD2803185491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] On the eve of the professional holiday of Soviet geologists, a news conference took place in Moscow. Geology Minister Grigoriy Gabrielyants addressed the news conference. He stated that thanks to the efforts of geologists the country had at its disposal a unique raw material base. The prospected deposits of mineral raw materials ready to be converted to output are estimated by experts to be worth more than 19 trillion rubles. These resources exceed 100 trillion rubles, if forecasts are taken into account.

The news conference was devoted to the topical problems the country's geological service is facing during the transition to the market. While occupying the first place in the world as far as the prospected deposits of many minerals are concerned, the Soviet Union occupies only 20th place in per capita consumption. That is why, the USSR minister of geology noted, the national policy ought to be directed toward intensifying the utilization of the prospected mineral raw material resources. It will make it possible to increase not just the level of our own consumption, but also to safeguard exports on a scale that is essential from the point of view of the economy, he stated.

Retail Reform Implementation Resolution

PM2803145191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

[USSR Supreme Soviet resolution: "On the Implementation of the Retail Prices Reform and Measures for the Population's Social Protection"]

[Text] Having examined the questions connected with the implementation of the retail prices reform and with measures for the social protection of the population, the USSR Supreme Soviet notes that the USSR president, the republics' Supreme Soviets, the USSR Federation Council and Cabinet of Ministers, and the republics' governments have done the necessary work to prepare for the implementation of this major socioeconomic measure in the country's life.

Principled approaches have been determined toward the liberalization of prices and their formation with a consideration for real expenses, goods' consumer qualities, and the population's demand, the spheres of the application of new state price lists and regulated and free retail prices have been coordinated with the republics, and limits or scales have been introduced for changing state retail prices and tariffs for basic goods and services. Systems of compensation measures for various categories of the population have been agreed. The sources of compensation payments have been determined and agreement has been reached between the republics on the creation of a single union-republican financial funds for social support for the population.

The decisions which have been taken and the accords which have been reached have been enshrined with the agreement of the USSR and the republics on questions of the reform of retail prices and the population's social protection, the protocol on some measures to implement this agreement, the USSR president's decree, and the relevant resolution of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

With a view to ensuring an overall policy in implementing the retail prices reform and measures for the population's social protection, the USSR Supreme Soviet decrees that:

1. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and executive organs of power be strictly guided in their practical activity by the accords which have been reached on the implementation of an overall policy in the field of price formation and the population's social protection and that they ensure the unconditional fulfillment of decisions agreed between the republics.

2. The republics' Supreme Soviets and governments and the USSR Cabinet of Ministers must ensure the monitoring of the observance of state discipline of prices. If enterprises, institutions, and organizations and republican and local organs of power and management set prices which exceed their maximum level established in accordance with the agreement of the USSR and the

republics on questions of the reform of retail prices and the population's social protection, decisions must be taken to repeal them.

The additional profit obtained as a result of the illegal hiking of state retail prices is confiscated from enterprises, institutions, organizations, and local organs of power and put into the republic's budget, and for output deliveries in accordance with interrepublican shipments and all-union consumers the profit is confiscated for the unified union-republican financial fund for the social support of the population. In addition sanctions established by existing legislation are applied to enterprises, organizations, and individuals who have committed violations of state prices discipline.

3. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers in conjunction with the republics' governments must establish the procedure for confiscating from enterprises, organizations, and local organs of power the funds obtained as a result of illegally hiking prices. Where it is necessary to make changes to USSR laws, proposals must be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

4. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the republics' governments must specify by 5 April 1991 the volume of funds which the republics should transfer to the unified union-republican financial fund for the social support of the population, taking into account the agreed avenues for its use. The republics' governments and the USSR State Bank must ensure the even allocation of assets to this fund throughout the year.

5. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the republics' governments, and the local organs of power must elaborate and implement effective measures to eradicate abuses in the trade system.

6. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers must submit proposals on the introduction of changes and additions to the USSR Law "on the Union budget for 1991."

7. It must be recommended to the USSR president and Federation Council that they accelerate the taking of decisions on the basic principles for the formation of a minimum consumer budget and on the indexing of the population's incomes in accordance with the rise in prices for consumer goods and services.

[Signed] A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Moscow, Kremlin, 25 March 1991.

Inspectors Discover Smuggled Cash on Train

LD2803153991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Report by correspondent A. Guretskiy from the Brest Control Point; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A cache of money was exposed on a train crossing the border. When the carriages were inspected, everything at first seemed normal, but the vigilant eyes of the inspectors found an unusual detail. They did not slip up this time when, in one of the compartments, in such an obvious place that no one would bother to look, polythene bags containing money were discovered. Some 251,646 rubles were in the cache. An inquiry will reveal to whom this cash belongs to and why it was being sent abroad.

Comparison of Gorbachev Taxation Decree

LD2603142591

Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1139 GMT on 24 March carries a report on President Gorbachev's decree on temporary taxation measures. The TASS report has been compared to the Moscow Television Russian version published in the 25 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 40-41, revealing the following variation:

Page 41, penultimate paragraph reads: ...place of study.

5. The following scale of income tax rates is to be applied to the wages of workers and employees and citizens equivalent to them in tax terms:

Monthly income	Amount of taxation
161-100 rubles [R]	13 percent of any sum above R160
R1,001-1,500	R109.20 plus 30 percent of any sum above R1,000
R1,501-2,000	R259.20 plus 35 percent of any sum above R1,500
R2,001-2,500	R434.20 plus 40 percent of any sum above R2,000
R2,501-3,000	R634.20 plus 45 percent of any sum above R2,500
R3,001 and above	R859.20 plus 50 percent of any sum above R3,000

6. Income tax on income received by citizens for carrying out single tasks and other payments for work carried out on the basis of contracts or other agreements which are valid in civil law (apart from payments to authors) is levied at the following rates:

Monthly income	Amount of taxation
R5-10	2 percent
R11-30	R0.20 plus 4 percent of any sum above R10
R31-50	R1.00 plus 5 percent of any sum above R30
R51-100	R2.00 plus 8 percent of any sum above R50
R101-500	R6.00 plus 12.5 percent of any sum above R100
R501-1000	R26.00 plus 13 percent of any sum above R500
R1,001-and above	The rates given in Article 5 of this decree apply.

7. Income tax on payments to authors for the creation, publication, performance, or other use of scientific, literary and artistic works, and payments to authors of inventions, discoveries, and industrial prototypes (excluding their heirs) is levied at the following rates:

Annual income	Amount of taxation
up to R120	2 percent
R121-360	R2.40 plus 4 percent of any sum above R120
R361-600	R12,00 plus 5 percent of any sum above R360
R601-1,200	R24.00 plus 8 percent of any sum R600
R1,201-4320	R72.00 plus 12.5 percent of any sum above R1,200
R4321-12,000	R312.00 plus 13 percent of any sum above R4,320
R12,001-18,000	R1310.40 plus 30 percent of any sum above R12,000
R18,001-24,000	R3,110.40 plus 35 percent of any sum above R18,000
R24,001-30,000	R5,210.40 plus 40 percent of any sum above R24,000
R30,001-36,000	R7,610.40 plus 45 percent of any sum above R30,000
R36,001 and above	R10,310.40 plus 50 percent of any sum above R36,000

8. Income tax on income from individual labor activities and other incomes received by citizens not listed in articles 5-7 above, is levied at the following rates:

Annual income	Amount of taxation
Up to R,4320	An amount equivalent to the tax paid for the corresponding number of months by workers and employees at the rates listed in Article 5 above, where there is no main workplace, or at the rates listed in Article 6 above, where there is a main workplace.
R4,321-12,000	R312,00 plus 13 percent of any sum above R4,320
R12,001-18,000	R1,310.40 plus 30 percent of any sum above R12,000
R18,001-24,000	R3,110.40 plus 35 percent of any sum above R18,000
R24,001-30,000	R5,210.40 plus 40 percent of any sum above R24,000
R30,001-36000	R7,610.40 plus 45 percent of any sum above R30,000
R36,001 and above	R10,310.40 plus 50 percent of any sum above R36,000

9. The tax-exempt portion of sums of material assistance envisaged under sub-paragraph "I" of Paragraph 1 of Article 3 of the USSR law on "the tax of incomes of USSR citizens, foreign citizens and stateless persons" is to be raised to R1,000 per annum.

10. Tax on bachelors, single persons, and USSR citizens with small families is not to be deducted from the wages of workers and employees and citizens equivalent to them in tax terms who earn up to R160 inclusive a month. From wages which exceed R160 a month it is to be deducted at the following rates:

Annual income	Amount of taxation
R161-200	5 percent of any sum above R160
R210 and above	R2 plus 6 percent of any sum above R200

11. This decree will come into force on 1 April 1991, with the following provisos:

A) Tax on the profit of enterprises, associations and organizations will start with the profit obtained during the second quarter.

B) Tax on the fund for the wages of collective farmers will start with the accounts for the second quarter.

C) Tax on the income of citizens and tax on bachelors, single persons, and USSR citizens with small families.

Deductions from wages and other remunerations in cash or in kind, and payments connected with the performance of work duties will begin with payments for work carried out from 1 April 1991 onward.

Deductions from other forms of income received by citizens will begin with incomes received during 1991.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev
Moscow, Kremlin
22 March 1991. (providing additional passage)

Agricultural

RSFSR Deputies Appeal For Aid, Support

914B0129A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Mar 91 p 1

[Appeal by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics, RSFSR, deputies: "Tomorrow Will Be Too Late... For RSFSR People's Deputies, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and All the Workers of Russia's Agro-Industrial Complex"; place and date not given]

[Text] We, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies representing the agro-industrial complex, having studied the situation at the local level, note with alarm and pain that the worsening social crisis in the country, the breakdown in production ties between regions, and the virtual disorder in providing the village with material and technical resources are affecting the agro-industrial sector of the economy in the most ruinous fashion. The program of social renewal of the countryside and of targeted development of the agro-industrial complex worked out by the special Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies is not being backed by practical measures on the part of the government and the executive and administrative organs.

As a result, during the period that has passed since the congress the economic and social situation of the countryside has sharply deteriorated. Additional investments in agriculture defined by the 1991 budget have already been substantially negated by the increase in wholesale prices and fees for industrial output, fuel, construction materials, fertilizers, and all types of services delivered to the village.

Under conditions of the transaction to a market, agricultural enterprises, peasant farms, and their associations have found themselves vulnerable to the tyranny and monopolistic practices of the suppliers. Instead of real state financial support of the village, the process of "pumping" the money from the countryside to the city has intensified. Profitability is falling sharply, more than half of villages enterprises will be unprofitable, and production of a majority of types of agricultural output are becoming unprofitable as well.

Despite the fact that the republic's agricultural enterprises are presently suffering significant financial losses that, according to calculations, will exceed 20 billion rubles [R] for the year, the government is not carrying out the instructions of the special Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies to carry out indexation of prices on industrial and agricultural output and provide agriculture with compensation of expenses in conjunction with the increase in wholesale prices for material and technical resources and fees for services.

In addition to the sharp reduction in its own financial sources, the countryside is experiencing a severe shortage of budgetary funds for its social renewal. In accordance with the law "On the Social Development of the Village," a budgetary allocation of no less than 15 percent of the national income of the republic was supposed to be directed toward the development of the agro-industrial complex each year beginning with 1991. At the same time, the 1991 budget of the RSFSR stipulates expending a total of R38 billion on the agro-industrial complex, or 9.2 percent of the national income for 1989.

In 1991 it is planned to invest R70 billion of capital investments into the village in 1991 prices, including the performance of construction and assembly work worth a total of about R45 billion which should have been fully provided for by centralized material and technical resources. It is also stipulated to allot material resources worth only R31.3 billion.

The insufficiency of budgetary allocations and material and technical resources has led to a curtailment of this year's program planned by the government for social development of the village. Less than 4 million square meters of housing, 55,000 seats in children's preschool institutions, 14,000 seats in general education schools, and 29,000 seats in cultural facilities will be introduced.

A complex situation is being created with the implementation of the RSFSR law "On Peasant (Private) Farms." A sharp increase in costs for construction and assembly work, equipment, and material and technical resources despite a relative freeze on prices for agricultural output is leading to great difficulties in equipping peasant farms (the cost for the construction of a peasant house, for example, has increased from R40,000 to R140,000) and a decline in the profitability of rural labor and its attractiveness. In this same fashion, the possibility of attracting aggressive, energetic people to peasant labor and the very idea of the creation of private and peasant farms are threatened.

When the ruling on the targeted development of the village was adopted, material and technical resources were supposed to be provided to the agro-industrial complex on a priority basis with responsibility going to the supplying enterprises for nonfulfillment of planned deliveries. However, the situation with deliveries to the village not only was not stabilized, it continues to worsen. By comparison with 1990, deliveries of automobiles, tractors, crane trucks, bulldozers, many types of agricultural machines, and soil cultivation equipment have decreased. And that is in addition to the fact that in 1990 deliveries to the village were short by 14,000 cargo vehicles and 36,000 tractors.

Many factories and manufacturers still are not concluding agreements to deliver funds of products that are allotted for the village. These include KamAZ, ZIL, and the Lipetsk, Vladimir, and Volgograd tractor factories.

Because of the difficult weather conditions in autumn of last year, the volume of work for the spring plowing and sowing has increased by a factor of 1.3. But instead of allotting additional resources of material and technical equipment to the RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture for 1991, capital has been reduced for fuel and lubricating materials and questions on the purchase abroad of equipment, spare parts, and chemical and packing materials have not been decided.

A breakdown in the production of vegetables for large industrial centers is threatened because polyethylene sheeting is not being allotted to the village. The government's decree shortening the deadlines for the delivery of resources necessary to conduct spring field work is not being carried out.

The wintering of the livestock is ending under difficult circumstances. A threefold increase in the cost of combined fodders has led to a rise in the cost of livestock production, a forced reduction in the numbers of cattle and poultry, and a slump in productivity. Purchases of milk over the last two months declined by 750,000 tons and of livestock by 290,000 tons.

Improvement of the difficult situation in agricultural production depends to a great deal on purposeful efforts of the RSFSR Government and of the executive and administrative organs at the local level to carry out the rulings of the special Congress of People's Deputies and RSFSR laws on agricultural issues.

With the goal of providing for the stabilization of agricultural production and for a gradual increase in its volume, we point out to the RSFSR Government the need to immediately carry out indexation of incomes and prices and to compensate all the increases in costs and losses to agriculture that have not previously been calculated.

We insist that the RSFSR Government immediately examine the causes for the breakdowns in deliveries of resources for the village, adopt measures in accordance with Article 15 of the law "On the Social Development of the Village" to compensate damage caused to the agro-industrial complex, and analyze the causes for the curtailment of the government's program for the social development of the village and provide for its complete fulfillment.

We demand that the president and the prime minister of the country specifically examine and make use of state directives to immediately resolve questions of the supply of the material resources of enterprises that manufacture tractors, vehicles, agricultural equipment, and other materials for the village.

We demand that the government of the republic and the leaders of soviets at all levels adopt immediate measures to implement the RSFSR law "On Land Reform" and allot all willing citizens garden and truck farming plots by the beginning of the spring sowing.

We call upon all labor collectives to abandon their petty departmental interests and to search for additional opportunities to immediately supply the village with fuel, lubricating, and construction materials, spare parts, machines, and equipment and to take an active part in the renewal of the Russian countryside.

We urgently request that the leaders of the collective and state farms and peasant (private) farms and the animal breeders of the republic stop reducing the numbers of livestock and reducing its productivity and conclude the wintering in an organized fashion.

We must not let the deadline for conducting the spring field work pass. We should also all begin to concern ourselves with the upcoming harvest and its transportation, storage, and processing. Only on this basis can the problem of the population's food supply be reliably resolved.

[Signed] RSFSR people's deputies: I.A. Altukhov, V.A. Agofonov, Y.I. Baranov, A.Ye. Belorusov, Yu.V. Belykh, A.A. Bobikov, V.Ye. Bogdanov, A.I. Bolsheglazov, A.V. Brechalov, V.V. Bulygin, V.N. Baranov, N.G. Buslov, S.N. Bystrov, R.N. Voloshchuk, I.A. Gabitov, V.A. Gabrus, V.S. Gladkikh, V.V. Guskov, V.M. Danilina, A.G. Yevdokimov, V.N. Yegorov, Ye.B. Yegorov, V.I. Zhiganov, A.G. Zalepukhin, V.S. Zakharov, Ye.V. Zotkina, I.B. Ivanov, S.P. Ivanov, I.A. Ivlev, B.M. Isayev, V.I. Kalenov, P.A. Karpov, Yu.M. Kachurin, N.D. Kozlov, G.Ye. Konstantinov, L.A. Korshunov, D.I. Krasov, Yu. M. Krasnov, B.G. Kuzmin, L.N. Kushnarev, S.L. Kyshtymov, N.I. Lavrushin, P.D. Laptev, M.I. Lapshin, V.P. Loginov, V.P. Loptev, D.D. Martynov, N.G. Medvedev, A.K. Melnichenko, V.I. Molochkov, P.S. Moor, N.I. Nikitenko, G.G. Okunev, S.A. Osminin, G.M. Oynvid, A.A. Pankov, B.Ya. Petrov, G.S. Petrov, I.V. Petrov, G.N. Petukhov, V.Ye. Podluzhnyy, A.A. Ponomarev, K.P. Ponomarev, T.A. Ponamareva, V.D. Popov, N.I. Popov, V.G. Posazhennikov, S.G. Pugach, A.I. Radionov, N.A. Savin, O.V. Savitskiy, Yu.V. Sadykov, Ye.N. Sedov, V.N. Seleznev, Yu.V. Sokolov, V.D. Tikhonenko, A.A. Tkachev, I.I. Firyulin, V.V. Frukalov, N.M. Kharitonov, I.G. Khlebnikov, A.G. Chkunov, O.A. Chistykh, N.I. Chmarov, V.V. Shapochkin, A.Ye. Shevtsov, V.V. Shevtsov, A.A. Shumskiy, and A.P. Yurin.

Mid-March Weather, Crop Condition Reported

PM2603165191 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Mar 91 p 3

[Agrometeorologist G. Ivashneva report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] In the past 10-day period and the beginning of the present 10-day period the weather over the bulk of the European USSR was predominantly mild. The average air temperature was 2-5 degrees above the long-term average. Spring processes were most intensive in Krasnodar Kray, southern Moldova, and southwest Ukraine. The mild weather caused a renewal of vegetation among winter grain crops and perennial grasses (at a time close to the long-term average). The state of seedlings was mainly good.

The snow cover disappeared rapidly because of the mild weather. In the Baltics, Belorussia, and the west of the Central and North-West regions the fields were clear of snow 15-25 days earlier than the long-term average date; in the Central-Chernozem region and the northern half of the Ukraine seven-10 days earlier than the long-term average; while in the southern half of the Ukraine and in the North Caucasus region it was close to the long-term average. In that territory, however, the soil is frozen and winter grain crop and perennial grass seedlings were still in a state of winter dormancy.

On 20 March the fields northeast of a line from Gdov (Pskov Oblast) through Bryansk, Sumy, Belgorod, Lugansk, and Volgograd were still under snow.

In a number of oblasts in the Central and Volga-Vyatka regions and in parts of the North-West and Central-Chernozem regions the fields are covered with a layer of ice for the most part 15-30 mm thick with 40 mm in some places.

In the Transcaucasian republics in the first half of the 10-day period the weather was predominantly cool. Then it became milder and by day the air temperature rose to 14-20 degrees. Slight vegetation was noted among winter grain crops and perennial grasses.

In the crop-farming regions of Western Siberia and North Kazakhstan the winter weather persists. On some days minimum air temperature fell to minus 18-minus 28 degrees; however, this was not dangerous for the winter grain crops and grasses because they were under a fairly deep snow cover (15-40 cm).

The weather in Central Asia was unsettled. At the end of the previous and beginning of the present 10-day periods, it became warmer. Maximum air temperatures were 15-21 degrees. Winter grain crops and grasses vegetated. Apricots produced their first leaves and in the extreme south of the republics began blossoming.

Scientific

TV Shows Near-Collision of Mir, Cargo Craft

LD2803232891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Report by correspondent P. Orlov, from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At 1503 today a Progress-M cargo craft docked with the orbiting Mir station. This has become an ordinary event, but on this occasion it is worthwhile giving a more detailed account.

[Orlov] We have grown accustomed to flights by the cargo spacecraft, and truthfully, when this one was first unable to approach the station no great attention was paid to it.

It was for this reason that what occurred on Saturday [23 March] during the second attempt can be called a bit of a shock. Only during a nightmare can such a picture be imagined. A multitonne truck moves at full speed into a gate that is, for all intents and purpose, only drawn on the wall of one's residential block. Obeying its automatic equipment Progress-M was moving toward the docking unit. You can indeed see the figures on the screen. They said that everything was in order, but the people watching the screen could not believe their eyes. The cargo craft was obviously not moving to the right spot and it was only just 20 meters from the station—the figure in the lefthand corner is accurate. Later the fact emerged that two parameters contained a catastrophic error, and it was a time when people believed themselves and not the machine.

In translation that command means that they had slammed on all the brakes, or in motoring parlance, they had put both feet down to the floor. The cargo craft turned away and passed within 12 meters of the station, miraculously gliding past the antennass and the solar battery. Thank goodness that it had approached the Mir station on the side that did not have the two 20-meter modules. Otherwise it is better not to say what would have happened in orbit to the station and the two cosmonauts.

By Tuesday [26 March] a decision had been made. Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov should test this docking unit on their own craft, which indeed they did. With certain rectifications it would be able to function. It turned out that all the trouble lay in one of the antennas of the Kurs system. It was precisely this antenna that had drawn the gate on the wall of the residential block. Here you see it on your screens, and this almost cost the lives of the crew and the entire station. What happened precisely still has to be ascertained.

The next expedition of Anatoliy Artsebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev very nearly became unemployed. It is most likely that they will be the ones who will repair this system.

So the point was not that the cosmonauts' food might not suffice, as the newspapers said. It was all much more serious, unlike today when this 50th cargo craft finally docked with the station and delivered gifts for Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov, who had celebrated their birthdays in space. They have now each done this twice.

Spacecraft Docks Successfully

LD2803155491 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—The Progress cargo spacecraft successfully docked with the Mir orbital research complex two and a half hours ago. The crew of the 8th main expedition, consisting of Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov, is now working at the orbital station.

The cargo spacecraft was launched on March 19, and initially it was planned that it would dock with the orbital complex on March 21, according to a traditional two-day scheme. But Progress failed twice to dock with the orbital station—on March 21 and March 23. Then it was decided at mission control centre to redock the Soyuz TM-11 spacecraft from the airlock to the quant module, with which cargo spacecraft are usually docked. It was confirmed during the operation that this unprecedented situation was caused by the failure of the antenna of the astrophysical module quant.

A spokesman for the mission control centre said that the cargo spacecraft had been docked with the airlock of the basic unit, i.e. at the place from which Soyuz TM-11 was removed.

The cargo spacecraft brought to the Mir complex various materials and cargoes, necessary for the continuation of the expedition, including those needed for the work of an international Soviet-British space crew. Its start is planned for May 12, this year.

No 'Barriers' To Joint U.S. Space Linkup

PM1903154591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 91 Union Edition p 2

[Boris Konovalov report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Joint Flight May Become Reality"]

[Text] Moscow—The U.S. television company CBS has reported that "the United States and the USSR are working on the preparation for an unprecedented joint space exploration project."

According to the television company, the project expects that a Soviet cosmonaut will fly in the crew of a U.S. Shuttle reusable spacecraft, and that a U.S. astronaut will work on a Soviet Soyuz spacecraft with a subsequent four-to six-month stay on a Mir station. It is believed that the project will be realized within the coming 12-18 months. A similar report has been broadcast by the U.S. press agency UPI.

The IZVESTIYA editorial office asked Yu. Semenov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and general designer at the "Energiya" science and production association, who is the chief designer of Soviet orbital stations and manned craft, to comment on this information:

"Last year and this year," Yuriy Pavlovich said, "we had a number of contacts with leaders of the American space programs. In particular, I delivered a report in Washington on possible areas of cooperation. NASA Director R. Truly visited Moscow. At these and other meetings it was unanimously noted that USSR-U.S. cooperation in manned flights, has essentially broken off since the famous docking of the Soyuz and Apollo craft in 1975, and needs to be renewed. At the meetings the possibility of a U.S. Shuttle craft's docking with a Soviet Mir station and delivering a research module to it was discussed and the variant of a docking between a Shuttle and a Buran craft was looked at, as were the construction of lunar bases and a joint flight to Mars. Both sides found no fundamental barriers on the way to realizing these projects, but as yet there were no concrete official agreements.

"The CBS and UPI reports simply reflect the general desire of both countries to start real preparation for joint flights. The future will show into which concrete project this desire will be channeled, but I do not exclude even the variant circulated by U.S. media. Pooling efforts and—in the common interest—using the space potential of the Soviet Union, which has the world's most powerful rockets, could make complex projects considerably cheaper to achieve."

Military

First All-Army Party Conference Opens

PM2803183591 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 29 Mar 91 p 2

[V. Shchedrin report: "Forum of Army Communists"]

[Text] The First All-Army Party Conference started its work in the Soviet Army Central Academic Theater. Its delegates represent 1.1 million communists in the Army and Navy. In an interview by a RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent, Colonel General A. Ovchinnikov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces Main Military-Political Directorate, stressed that the present conference is the concluding stage in the reformation of Army party structures. The main result of this work will be the consolidation of Army communists, the clarification by them of their position, and the elaboration of priority areas in party organizations' activities. They include concern for combat readiness and combat ability in Armed Forces units and subunits, and the inculcation of qualities such as morality and excellence in service and combat training.

The Army has enough problems today, A. Ovchinnikov said. But we must not give in to them. Unfortunately, there are people among the personnel who think that army service can be subjugated to interests other than ensuring the country's security.

Gurenko at Kiev Military District Party Meeting

PM2803173591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 91 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Colonel A. Polyakov report: "Party Conferences"]

[Text] A report was delivered at the Kiev Military District party conference by Major General Yu. Gudimov, chairman of the organizing committee. The report and the speeches by District Commander Colonel General V. Chechevatov, Comrades V. Bobryshev and N. Kravets, and others stressed that ideological stratification is taking place in the country under the influence of destructive nationalist forces. There is an unconcealed desire to repoliticize society [perepolitizatsiya], including the Army. Under these circumstances party committees should fundamentally restructure their work, get a jump on events, and not lose the political initiative.

The conference was addressed by S. Gurenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Colonel General B. Omelichev, first deputy chief of the Armed Forces General Staff; Colonel General V. Osipov, and representatives of Ukrainian Communist Party oblast committees took part in the conference.

Baltic Republics

Baltic Independence To Be 'Settled' in Moscow

LD2803181691 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0530 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Speaking at a news conference, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia, has again stressed that the issue of Baltic independence is to be settled at talks in Moscow. He also acknowledged that the search for support in Europe for the achievement of Baltic independence is strongly disliked by the current Soviet Government, including President Gorbachev. We are being stimulated to such steps by the lack of constructive action on the part of the Kremlin, Gorbunovs stressed.

Talks With Estonia in 'Constructive Spirit'

LD2803173291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—A meeting was held in Moscow today between the delegations of the USSR and Estonia, which have been set up to discuss a range of political, social, and economic questions. The delegations are headed by Nikolay Laverov, USSR deputy prime minister, and Ulio Nugis, deputy chairman [as received] and speaker of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic.

The TASS correspondent was told by Andrey Birov, press secretary of Estonia's permanent mission in Moscow, that the meeting, which lasted over two hours, was a "confidential" one. A communique was signed after the meeting.

The document says, in particular, that the work of the delegations took place in a constructive spirit. The sides "discussed a broad range of problems," and decided "to continue the discussion of immediate and specific issues".

Consultative meetings between representatives of the Soviet Union and Estonia have been held since August 1990 at the level of expert groups. Today the sides noted "the continuity" of this work.

According to Andrey Birov, the delegations agreed to hold the next meeting in Tallinn in mid-April.

Estonia Supreme Soviet Discusses Electoral Roll

LD2703133891 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1000 GMT 27 Mar 91

[Excerpt] [Announcer] We now go over to Toompea, to the 35th session of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet. Gunnar Paal reports:

[Paal] Here on Toompea, the Supreme Soviet is discussing the draft law on the electoral roll. Illar Hallaste is at the rostrum and a debate is in progress. Let us hear what he is saying from the rostrum.

[Hallaste] An individual has to make a decision for himself; either he wants to be a citizen of the Republic of Estonia, or not. We cannot resolve this issue for him. This option is proposed precisely by the draft law on the electoral roll. I appeal to you to give it some thought and to vote for it. Thank you.

[Paal] Illar Hallaste said those words in connection with the Russian deputy groups having proposed that the draft law on the electoral roll be sent back to be discussed in conjunction with the citizenship law.

Illar Hallaste has come from the rostrum, and is here with me. Illar, the listeners have heard your words. You were appealing for some thought on the matter. But the problem is deep, and as you noted at the beginning of your speech, it will indeed be possible to achieve a consensus with Russian speakers on the issue of drawing up the electoral roll.

[Hallaste] This consensus in actual fact should already exist. At least previous discussions, discussions between ourselves here in the corridors on the draft law, have demonstrated that their negative response is not at all as major as it showed yesterday in the speeches of some deputies. This three-year residence requirement does not daunt them, but they are daunted at present by the fact that people now have to make a choice: Are they going to be citizens of the Republic of Estonia, or citizens of the USSR? And in their opinion this decision-making may turn out to be very difficult for people. To make a decision of this kind will mean that people will clearly take the side of the Republic of Estonia, and it could be very beneficial to us when those people—those non-Estonians living here, who arrived here after the war—when those people indeed make a decision as to which side they are on. Should they decide to be on the side of the Republic of Estonia, they should also stand firm.

[Paal] So one has to take an understanding attitude to the wish to look at the issue in conjunction with the draft law on citizenship?

[Hallaste] No, we can't at the moment resolve the citizenship issue, because the citizenship issue is very complex. It concerns also USSR interests, and in any case, we cannot resolve this unilaterally. No state is interested in its citizens resigning their citizenship. As long as the possibility of double citizenship is being discussed, USSR interests are not wounded; but the minute some people have to actually resign their USSR citizenship—and with the Republic of Estonia citizenship law, this is how things will definitely go—then in that case, USSR interests may be seriously hurt; the USSR is not at all interested in its citizens resigning their citizenship. Consequently, we cannot finally resolve the citizenship issue at the moment. [passage omitted]

Estonia Bank Selling Hard Currency to Citizens

PM2703145191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Leonid Levitskiy: "Buying Dollars"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Bank of Estonia is one of the first in the country to begin to sell foreign currency to private citizens.

The bank acts as a middleman between those who have foreign currency and those who wish to acquire it. According to specialists, there is quite a lot of Western money among the population. There are also plenty of secret exchange points. But the black exchange has its own laws and morals. Quite a lot of people have been cheated, both buyers and sellers. There are more and more counterfeit dollars in circulation.

Therefore it is better and safer to do business with the Bank of Estonia.

No one allocates foreign currency to the bank for sale. The bank has decided to buy it from enterprises and the population. On the first day the bank acquired more than 100,000 rubles [R] in eight countries' currencies at prices close to those of the black market.

Buyers have to pay a bit more—the bank charges 7 percent commission. The first buyers paid R24.62 per dollar.

Latvian Groups Send Food to Striking Miners

LD2803174191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0530 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Today at Doma Square in Riga there was a meeting held by the Latvian Social Democrats and the Latvian Workers' Union in support of and giving solidarity to the striking coal miners in the USSR. This evening a railroad consignment of 30 tonnes of food and medicine left Riga for Novokuznetsk, Kuzbass, bought with money donated in Latvia. The coal miners will receive preserves, powdered eggs, meat, and processed milk, as well as biscuits and other products donated from all rayons of Latvia at the request of the People's Front of Latvia.

Latvian Russian Community Group Established

PM2703144991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Irina Litvinova: "Russian Community Established in Latvia"]

[Text] Riga—Latvia's Russian Community—this is the title of a new social, nonpolitical organization whose founding congress was held in Riga 23 March.

The fate of Russians in Latvia depends on the Russians themselves, E. Smekhov, the community's president, a sea captain, believes. Objective reasons are prompting Russians in the national republics to seek ways of uniting. We have chosen the form of a community whose activities will be based on three main principles—solidarity, justice, and self-help. The society's patronage will be guaranteed to all its members and their children. It is necessary to earn the means for the spiritual development of Russians in Latvia, which will be one of the community's main objectives. The community's economic development chamber will promote this. We will encourage the community members' enterprise and private initiative in every way. A community commercial bank and insurance company and also various enterprises in all spheres of the republic's economic life will be established.

The Russian Community is open to anyone who regards the Russian language and Russian culture as their own.

Landsbergis Greetings Support Russia, Yeltsin

LD2803232791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Russian 2030 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, on behalf of the Supreme Council Presidium, sent a greetings telegram to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of Russia, and also to Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, on the occasion of the Third Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies which opened in the Great Kremlin Palace today.

Here is the text of the telegram:

Esteemed Chairman Boris Nikolayevich, Lithuania follows your congress with great attention and full of good wishes. The preservation of the course toward the development of democracy in the USSR and opposition to dictatorship, the defense of glasnost and human rights, the possibility of real material and political-economic perestroyka, the prospect of the community of free nations—all this is now linked with the decisive self-determination of Russia. At this historical moment we wish you civic cohesion and fruitful work.

'Problem' of Lithuania-Moscow Talks Considered

LD2803073491 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 27 Mar 91

[Text] [Announcer] As we already reported, the meeting of the authorized negotiators of the Soviet Union and Lithuania did not take place in Moscow yesterday. Discussions are taking place in Lithuania today on how this event may affect the relations between the two states. Juozas Kavolis reports:

[Kavolis] I think that the Soviet Union, behaving this way, does not appear serious, stated Vytautuas Landsbergis, commenting on yesterday's news from Moscow. The situation in that country is very serious, even

threatening, therefore many observers, examining the steps announced by the Soviet leaders, are basing themselves on this circumstance, Romualdas Ozolas, deputy of the supreme council said:

[Ozolas] It is practically impossible to negotiate now, when the situation in Russia and the Soviet Union is so tense. It is not by accident that the delegations did not meet yesterday. I do not think that this failure to meet will have any more serious consequences. The meeting of the delegations will take place shortly, I believe, and the talk will be [word indistinct] because there are many new problems since our last meeting.

[Kavolis] Lithuanian political circles are of the opinion that the problem of negotiations between Lithuania and Moscow is only a question of time. According to Virgilijus Cepaitis, the leader of the Lithuanian Independence Party, the meeting which did not take place yesterday has neither improved nor worsened the relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union.

[Cepaitis] Nothing has changed. The question is only when the Soviet Union will no longer be able to not negotiate. [Words indistinct] when it wiLl be able at least symbolically to leave the buildings, at least one building, to make some gesture of goodwill toward us. There are now difficult political upheavals in relations with Russia and I think that those negotiations cannot start—at least this week.

[Kavolis] Lithuania is determined that the negotiations with the Soviet Union must start on a parity basis. The Lithuanian delegation is also attempting to achieve the Soviet Army departure from seized important state buildings before the beginning of negotiations. Lithuania's stand irritates Moscow very much. It seems that the meeting which did not take place yesterday was Moscow's reply to Lithuania's principles. I asked the human rights activist Viktoras Petkus, whether, in his opinion, we can talk after yesterday about different Vilnius-Moscow relations.

[Petkus] By no means. I consider that the stand of the Lithuanian Government is correct. It is essential to be calm, be diplomatic, but never withdraw from our principle, not to give in to blackmail. Our weapon is patience, we have no other weapons. It is essential to be patient and I am convinced that time is on our side. Moscow must understand that Lithuania can (?negotiate) only as an equal. There can be no concessions here.

[Kavolis] The majority agrees, however, that one thing is to talk about what Moscow should do and another thing is that it is doing. First of all, the Kremlin is still finding many reasons to deny the rights of nations to self-determination, says Romualdas Ozolas.

[Ozolas] I would think that they are ready to deny this right of Lithuania up to the end, just as Lithuania is ready to defend this right to the end. My impression, and many facts which are no longer an impression, enable me to maintain that preparations are in progress for a final decisive step in an attempt to introduce to the entire Soviet Union a firm regime, that is, the regime of the USSR president. Whether it will be a civilian regime, a military regime, a hybrid civilian-military regime—no one knows, but there is no doubt that the Soviet Union has entered a new stage of the consolidation of its authorities and the formation of the state.

History is repeating itself. It is not by accident that Albertas Sarkanis, the representative of the Latvian Government in Lithuania, speaking on Vilnius radio, recalled that in 1918 Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia became independent states only because great political changes were taking place in Russia. We hardly want to have such experiences these days.

Butkevicius on Moscow Visit

LD2703132491

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian at 0700 GMT on 27 March, in the course of its regularly scheduled newscast, carries a five-minute report on the 26 March visit to Moscow by Audrius Butkevicius, director general of the Department for the Defense of the Country; Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council; and Aleksandras Abisala, minister without portfolio. The report includes a live or recorded interview with Butkevicius.

The announcer states that the three deputies have returned from Moscow without having achieved anything. Butkevicius says: "It seems to me that it is of great importance to the Soviet Union to establish the fact that negotiations are taking place, without going very deeply into the substance of the negotiations. In contrast, to us the fact that negotiations are taking place is not so important, rather what the negotiations will be about and what will be discussed first. Therefore it is understandable that we should wish to coordinate the agenda in advance." Butkevicius states that no meeting took place on 26 March, and that, in a telephone conversation with Stankevicius, "Doguzhiyev said that when the specific date for the meeting of the delegations is announced we can expect that a day before this the groups will meet to prepare the agenda for the delagations' meeting. Therefore we sent a telegram proposing 27 or 28 [month not specified] as the date for the delegations' meeting, and Vilnius as the place. Of course the opposite side may not agree, or may have its own proposals; however, this was grounds for carrying out the promise to discuss the agenda. Unfortunately, Doguzhiyev did not react to the telegram." Butkevicius then cites the TASS announcement "in which Doguzhiyev presented his opinion, saying that we do not want negotiations." He asserts that a great number of foreign journalists, who wanted to see the results of the meeting with Doguzhiyev, found this very strange.

Butkevicius continues: "The answer was firm: the meeting will take place only on the delegations level, at once, without even any advance discussion of the topics for negotiation." He goes on to say that first of all there

must be no violence while the negotiations are in progress. "We cannot agree that the Soviet Union should have a free hand during the negotiations to apply pressure on us by means of the Army or other armed groups." Butkevicius concludes by saying that the next step is to go to the negotiations without preconditions and without violence being used by the Soviet Union against Lithuania.

Decree on Protecting Buildings With Firearms

LD2603150591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuania 2000 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Decree signed by Gediminas Vagnorius, prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, on 25 March: "Decree of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania"]

[Text] On the basis of the police law of the Republic of Lithuania, to determine that the subunits of the Ministry of Internal Affairs protect the following objects: the building of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania; the building of the Lithuanian radio and television; the building of the Lithuanian state archives; the Geneal Procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania and the procuracy of the city of Vilnius; the Lithuanian Bank, its branches, and other bank offices.

Exceptions are those which in accordance with agreements are guarded by other protection services, the permanent mission in Moscow, special enterprises and their objects of the economic departments of the Lithuanian Government apparatus, the motor vehicle pool, the state firm Daila and its objects, the republican guest servicing firm Draugyste and its guest houses, and the printing works Zaibas.

The objects indicated in this decree are included in specially protected objects. In case of their being attacked, firearms are to be used.

Signed: Gediminas Vagnorius, prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania

Lithuanian Supreme Council's 28 Mar Session

LD2803214591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Excerpts] The third session of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania continued its work today. [passage omitted]. Vytautas Landsbergis made a report on the political situation in Lithuania and abroad. Foreign Minister Algirdas Sadargas then briefly informed the deputies about the results of his trip abroad. Later, virtually all day, the deputies were examining a draft republican budget. [passage omitted]. Speeches were made at the session by Prime Minister Gedimanas Vagnorius and Minister of Finance Kuneviciene.

A statement signed by a group of deputies was read by Egidijus Klumbys. It urged the opposition in the legislature to emerge officially, announce its program and methods of activity, elect its leader and so on. [passage omitted] Debates on the budget will continue at the session tomorrow.

Lithuanian Leaders Note Changes, Map Future

LD2903105191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Speaking today at a plenary session of the Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis analyzed Lithuania's situation and its opportunities. In the opinion of the speaker, April may be tense and full of dangers in Lithuania both because of the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and because of actions which may be taken in Lithuania by the forces of the past.

But I am convinced, Vytautas Landsbergis noted, that already this summer the issue of the Baltic states will be examined at international conferences and relations with the Soviet Union should be normalized.

The situation must be regarded as very dynamic, Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas said in his report. After the bloody January events in Vilnius he stayed abroad for two and a half months. If a state coup had taken place in Lithuania he was authorized to form a government in exile. Algirdas Saudargas returned to Vilnius yesterday evening. Concluding a review of his contacts abroad, the foreign minister noted that it is essential to act in a very intense and organized manner in those directions in which we are moving, that is, toward Iceland and Scandinavia. In the opinion of Algirdan Saudargas, Lithuania is very close to its final aim—the restoration of diplomatic relations with those countries.

Lithuanian Legislature Discusses Draft Budget

LD2903091791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1656 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius, 28 Mar (TASS)—Deputy Audrius Rudys, chairman of the standing commission for the budget, called the state budget of the Lithuanian Republic for 1991, the draft of which deputies of the Lithuanian legislature started to discuss today, "socially orientated."

Despite the fact that the first quarter of this year has virtually passed already, there has not yet been an approved budget in the republic. Deputies rejected the draft of this document put forward by the government of Kazimiera Prunskiene at the beginning of the year. A week ago the government headed by Gediminas Vagnorius submitted a new draft budget to the government, after which it was discussed throughout the past week in the commissions and factions of legislature.

The republic's budget, which amounts to more than 5.7 billion, should, as Lithuanian Finance Minister Elvyra Kuneviciene stated when presenting it a week ago, be "balanced and without a deficit." It is envisaged that 52

percent of it will be used as compensation for the increase in expenditure by the population in connection with the increase in retail prices. It is planned to use around 16 percent of the national budget for financing spending on education, 2.5 percent on culture, and 10.7 percent of the national budget on health. The reality of gaining the income necessary for the budget to really be balanced is causing serious doubts among some deputies.

Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the republic's supreme council, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Algirdas Saudargis analysed Lithuania's international situation.

UK MP's Visit Lithuania, Received by Landsbergis

PM2203155991 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 14 Mar 91 p 1

[ELTA report: "British Legislators in Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius, 12 Mar—Today Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council, received Margaret Annie Ewing, Quentin Davies, and Paul Phillip Flynn, members of Parliament [MP] and representatives of the UK House of Commons. In Parliament they represent the Scottish Nationalist Party and the Conservative and Labor Parties. This is the first official parliamentary delegation from Great Britain to visit Lithuania.

Vytautas Landsbergis told the guests about the political situation in Lithuania, pointing out that the Soviet Union is again stepping up military action and whipping up tension as its referendum approaches.

Conservative Party representative Quentin Davies stated that Britain has hitherto not considered and does not consider now that the Baltic states are part of the USSR. There are no differences of opinion between any of the parties in Parliament with regard to the Baltic countries. There is just one opinion—that the Baltic countries were illegally annexed and incorporated in the USSR.

The UK parliamentarians participated in a plenary session of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council. Margaret Annie Ewing addressed the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council deputies. She emphasized that the whole world should assist Lithuania. International pressure should force Moscow to come to the negotiating table. We will do everything to ensure that you receive de facto recognition, she said.

Lithuanian Republic Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius also received the members of Parliament and representatives of the UK House of Commons.

Lithuania To Compensate Savings Accounts

LD2903104191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Bearing in mind the increasing inflation, the Lithuanian Government has decided to index citizens' deposits in savings banks. The savings of each depositor will be compensated by 50 percent, not exceeding the sum of 5,000 rubles per person. As an exception, somewhat larger deposits will be compensated for Lithuanian citizens returning from exile.

RSFSR

Further Reportage on Moscow Demonstrations

APC's Unrelated to Rallies

91UM0512A Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Mar 91 p 1

[Response by Major G.P. Kasyuba, head of the USSR Ministry of Defense press center, to questions by "TRUD readers": "What Are APC's Doing in the Capital?"]

[Text] Since yesterday morning many alarmed TRUD readers have been calling the editorial offices with questions: Did you know that military armored personnel carriers [APC's] have appeared in Moscow in the region of the Danilov market? What are they doing in the center of the capital? Is this not related to USSR Prime Minister V. Pavlov's decision to temporarily call a halt to rallies, street processions, and demonstrations in Moscow?

Here is what we were told in this regard by the head of the press center of the USSR Ministry of Defense, Major General G.P. Kasyuba:

One gets the impression that certain recently created newspapers are pursuing a quite specific goal: to inflame passions and to awaken suspicion of the Army in the hearts of Muscovites. Last fall they wrote a great deal about alleged preparations for a military coup and an attack by paratroopers on Moscow. Now there are the APC's.

Indeed, there are armored personnel carriers on the parade ground of the military unit located in Moscow not far from the Danilov market. They arrived here during the night between Friday and Saturday from the Taman division. There are only 23 of them. They all run on wheels and are relatively quiet. Their personnel amounts to 120 men. These are mainly young drivers who must practice driving on city streets. We must not forget that subdivisions of this unit participate in parades.

The convoy travelled along the outer ring road and then along Warsaw Highway to the area of the unit. The fact that they are staying in Moscow for several days is explained by the need to conduct joint exercises with

troops of this unit. These marches are conducted periodically, according to a plan. Writers from certain newspapers who try to link this completely ordinary measure to politics cannot be serious.

FROM THE EDITORS: In publishing the response from the official representative of the USSR Ministry of Defense, the editors assume that the newspaper's readers who were disturbed will draw their own conclusions from this statement.

Bakatin Says Ban 'Hasty'

LD2803145991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Mar 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Here is a report from the NOVOSTI agency: In the opinion of Vadim Bakatin, member of the USSR Security Council, the decision adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers on the temporary suspension of rallies, street marches, and demonstrations in the city of Moscow is hasty. At the same time, Vadim Bakatin believe that it is the duty of each citizen to follow the government decision.

TASS on 'Heated Atmosphere'

LD2803142491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1229 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS international observer Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—Everyone who follows events in our country probably appreciates the fact that today promises to become an important day in the political life of the Soviet Union. Its significance lies in the opening of the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] at which a fierce battle between the various political groups and tendencies is expected. The heated atmosphere on the eve of the congress bears witness to the fact that depending on it is much that has to do with establishing constructive cooperation between the leadership of the USSR and that of the RSFSR, and with stabilizing the situation in the country.

It is therefore not by chance, but completely natural, that journalists have been concentrating their attentions on reporting today's events. The desire of several Western correspondents to make their "contribution" toward whipping up tension in the USSR does, however, provoke some amazement. It is sufficient to acquaint ourselves with the report of yesterday's U.S. State Department briefing in order to be convinced of this. A clear intention to present the situation in Moscow in a hypertrophied way could be detected in the questions that journalists asked Margaret Tutweiler. For example, here is one such comment: "Tanks and artillery are being concentrated in Moscow." A journalist from the French paper "COMBAT-EVENEMENT" saw these tanks somewhere in the Soviet capital.

The accredited U.S. correspondents in Moscow have not moved very far from their colleagues in Washington. A journalist from the NBC television company spoke in a report about the "armored vehicles in a full state of military readiness" and "barricades around the Kremlin" that have appeared in Moscow.

It seems that such a thrilling description of the situation in Moscow on the eve of the congress also influenced utterances of some foreign state figures. For example, Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock said in an interview to the Austrian news agency APA that he is concerned with "tank movement toward the Soviet capital." He has swallowed the bait.

On my way to TASS this morning I was convinced that the situation was nothing of the sort. I saw not a single tank or a single artillery gun anywhere. True, there are barriers, and increased militia details can be seen as well as militia cars. A correspondent for a program of the German television ZDF, who in a report from Moscow noted that "contrary to rumors [he] did not see a single tank in the streets." He failed to notice any tanks on the streets of Moscow.

The question is: Why scare one's readers and listeners with various kinds of fabrications about "tanks and artillery" on the streets and squares of Moscow? The question is: Why provoke politicians into making hasty conclusions and thus put them in an awkward situation? Would it not be better if my colleagues concentrated their attention on carrying out their work as honestly and professionally as possible, without going over the top, so to speak?

Efforts To Prevent Rally Clashes

LD2803134791 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Members of the Soviet legislature today mounted last-minute attempts to prevent possible clashes during a controversial rally planned for tonight in the heart of Moscow.

The demonstration outside the Kremlin, slated to begin at 1800 [1500 GMT], was called by the radical Democratic Russia Movement to support Russian leader Boris Yeltsin at the emergency republican Congress of People's Deputies, which opened this morning.

The national government later banned all public processions and pickets in Moscow for twenty days.

Members of the federal legislature, speaking in a debate a few hours before the rally, warned about possible clashes between demonstrators and soldiers, called in to enforce the cabinet's order. According to many deputies, side streets in central Moscow are filled with Army trucks and Interior Ministry troops and hospitals are on red alert to deal with the injured.

Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, who spoke on behalf of the inter-regional group of radical deputies, called for lifting the ban on rallies as running against the Soviet Constitution and laws.

"If the government decision is enforced, this will lead to unprecedented clashes and casualties, which may be followed by a general political strike and the breakup of state structures," he predicted.

Other deputies, while sharply critical of rally organisers, argued that the demonstration be allowed to proceed to prevent a tragic outcome.

But leaders of the Soyuz legislative group, including Viktor Alksnis, Anatoliy Chekhoyev, Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev and others, flatly objected to the motion.

"If we permit the rally today, tomorrow demonstrators will be inside the Kremlin and within a week, they will be in this hall," Colonel Alksnis said. He added "that the only way out is for Democratic Russia to call off the rally."

Ivan Laptev, chairman of one of the legislative chambers—the Council of the Union, said the government was continuing to look for a compromise solution and the Supreme Soviet legislature could no longer do anything to help.

Boris Oleinik, deputy chairman of the other chamber—the Council of Nationalities—warned that "new tyrants and dictators may be coming under the banner of democracy" and urged averting the stand-off on the Manezhnaya Square, the planned site of the rally.

He suggested that legislature urgently recommend Yeltsin to speak on the Moscow radio and television immediately to ask demonstrators to disperse. In a simultaneous move, the government, Oleynik said, should be instructed to order troops out of central Moscow back to their regular bases.

Legislature then went into a short recess before convening again to discuss and pass a resolution on the planned rally.

USSR Legislature Issues Warning

LD2803153791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1448 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet has today adopted a statement that once again proposes that the Moscow city soviet, the leadership of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, and and all the USSR and Russian people's deputies call upon the population of Moscow not to hold any mass meetings during the session of the Third Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies.

As has been reported, a number of political forces opposed to Union authority are to hold demonstrations this evening in support of the policy of Boris Yeltsin, the leader of the Russian legislature.

"The initiators of the meetings and demonstrations [demonstratsiya] and the leaders of the organizations sanctioning these meetings are assuming personal responsibility for the security of those citizens whom they are calling upon to go out onto the streets," the document states.

The Supreme Soviet has warned that should any disturbances arise, and even more so should there be any clashes, then those guilty of organizing these disturbances "will be held responsible according to the established criminal law and will be held responsible in every other way."

TASS: Moscow Appears 'Normal'

LD2903073491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0721 GMT 29 Mar 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 29 Mar (TASS)—The extraordinary Congress of Russian People's Deputies continued work in the Kremlin this morning. [passage omitted]

The center of the capital looked normal today.

Ruslan Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, opening today's morning sitting, stressed that the president's promise to withdraw law and order forces had been fulfilled.

The congress then returned to considering the agenda.

Rally Opens in Mayakovskiy Square

LD2803171391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1540 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] As our correspondent has just reported, the rally planned to take place on Manezhnaya Square in Moscow today began half an hour ago in Mayakovskiy Square. Columns are now approaching it from the direction of the Old Arbat.

Banners Carry Pro-Yeltsin Slogans

LD2803172791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1519 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Now here is a subject that is worrying everyone. It was debated in all our highest bodies of power today. I refer to the Moscow rally. Our correspondent Ivan Akkuratov has just come on the line:

[Akkuratov] Mayakovskiy Square is currently the central assembly point for those attending the rally. Everyone is in an animated mood. People are holding Russian tricolors and portraits of the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman. It must be said that there is a feeling that

things are proceeding in an orderly manner. Special lines of volunteers are holding back the crowds and preventing them from spontaneously setting off down Tver Street. People are being urged via loud-hailers to stay calm and to show restraint. Many people are carrying slogans in support of Boris Nikolayevich. The slogans include, for instance: Presidential office for Yeltsin; Yeltsin the hope of Russia; The president should be elected by all the people; and We support the policies of Yeltsin and Silayev. The demonstrators include people from all sections of society: workers, intellectuals, and white collar workers. I should like to make special mention of the fact that a very large number of young people are present.

[Announcer] That was a report from Ivan Akkuratov. According to our information, we can report that it cannot be ruled out that the rally is going to take place at the actual assembly point from where our correspondent sent us that brief report.

'No Serious Incidents' at Rally

LD2803185791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1758 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—The center of Moscow presented an unusual spectacle this afternoon, with a heavy presence of Interior Ministry troops, militia patrols and numerous Army vehicles blocking the city streets. A demonstration in support of the leadership of the Russian legislature has been held here. Columns of Muscovites gathered in Mayakovskiy Square, and also in a number of other places.

The meeting was banned by a decision of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers. However, the Third Extraordinary Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputies, which opened today, voted to suspend the validity of this enactment by the union leadership.

Originally it was thought that the meeting, which was eventually given the go-ahead by the Moscow Soviet, would be held in the direct proximity of the Kremlin, on Manezhnaya Square. However, representatives of the law enforcement agencies and the leaders of the Democratic Russia movement, who organized the meeting, both displayed common sense and restraint.

According to provisional figures from the Moscow militia, about 100,000 people attended the meetings. The organizers of the demonstration are quoting a figure of 500,000. By 2000, no serious incidents had been recorded. At the same time TASS correspondents observed attempts by certain demonstrators to provoke clashes with the law enforcement agencies.

The slogans of the demonstration and the speeches made at it, by speakers who included people's deputies of the USSR, Russia, and the Moscow Soviet—contained demands for the resignation of the present union leadership. Support for Boris Yeltsin and other Russian leaders was expressed.

Radio Vilnius Reports Casualties

LD2803222591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Report by ELTA special correspondent Balys Bucelis from Moscow]

[Excerpts] With the efforts of roughly 150,000 soldiers and militiamen and with the aid of military hardware, Mikhail Gorbachev and Valentin Pavlov succeeded in localizing today's rally of Muscovites aimed against the Soviet president, the prime minister, the president's council, and the Cabinet of Ministers.

The rally or, to be more precise, rallies, started at about 1750 with marches in the direction of the center of Moscow. passage omitted]. Armed soldiers, militiamen, and OMON [special purpose militia detachment] units, by the way, sent even from Riga, were standing in three or four rows. They were armed with plastic shields, rubber truncheons and teargas. [passage omitted] One attack was organized by those taking part in the meeting from Sverdlov Square, virtually from the Bolshoy Theater, but it was repulsed. There were casualties during this attack. Ambulances took away at least a score of injured people.

Security agents were everywhere in Moscow. For instance, when I phoned to Vilnius from a Moscow hotel, the telephone was arrested after a few minutes. The telephone manageress warned that telephone conversations were being tapped openly since Monday.

Although it is already late in Moscow, rallies are taking place. Several thousand people have gathered in Pushkin, Mayakovskiy, and Sverdlov squares. My foreign journalist colleagues just now reported that meetings are taking place in the subway stations, which are not closed. According to my information, meetings will take place until midnight. [passage omitted]

Pro-Yeltsin Demonstration Ends

LD2803195391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] A meeting staged on the initiative of the Moscow Soviet and the Russian Supreme Soviet in the capital's Mayakovskiy Square has finished. The main theme of the meeting was the demand for the election of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin to the position of president of Russia. The speeches of the people's deputies were also mainly devoted to this. At the same time some of these speeches were noticeable for their vividly marked radicalism: They demanded that the country's president resign and that the CPSU be put on public trial. After this the initiators of the meeting called on the participants to come out into the streets if necessary. According

to their words an application to stage a demonstration that has been forwarded to the Moscow Soviet is valid until 7 April.

Radio Reporter Views Demonstration

LD2803211391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2015 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Bunin from Manezhnaya Square on 28 March—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bunin] This is Manezhnaya Square. In spite of all the barriers, the crowd are breaking through onto Manezhnaya Square. [words indistinct] Arts Theater, very many militia officers have formed a human chain to cordon off Red Square. [passage omitted]

The military cordon continues to hold the line around the Moskva Hotel. In addition to militia officers, who are armed with batons, there are people in army uniform here. Some of them are officers holding the rank of major, captain and lieutenant colonel. They are also armed with batons. A large group of people have now appeared in the passageway leading to the Arts Theater. Most likely they are people's deputies attending the Russian Congress, which began in Moscow today. In fact, definitely, they are deputies. The crowd is heading for Manezhnaya Square.

The column of demonstrators headed by the people's deputies is beginning to move towards Manezhnaya Square (?from) Gorkiy Street. The first militia cordon which was positioned to stop the deputies has let them through. Gradually the militia cordons are beginning to bend under the strain. We will interview one of the people's deputies.

[Unidentified male] The people are behaving in a peaceful way. They do not want any bloodshed.

[Bunin] The engines of the military vehicles are being revved loudly. It is so unusual to see them here on the central street of a generally peaceful city. The vehicles are moving off. The way through is clear, and the broad column headed by people's deputies continues its advance.

[Male voice speaking through loudspeaker] Citizens, let the meeting take place on Pushkin Square. We urge you to pass through to Pushkin Square.

[Bunin] Yes, precisely. You have just heard what the militia officer said. That means that the meeting, about which so much passion has been whipped up, about which there has been such a heated atmosphere, will in fact take place—but on Pushkin Square rather than Manezhnaya Square.

I am standing on top of a trolley-bus which is stuck on the corner of Pushkin Square and Gorkiy Street. Pushkin Square is packed with people. Various placards can been seen. The square is seething. But the atmosphere is entirely calm, at the moment. No excesses are taking place.

Moscow Radio: 150,000 at Rallies

LD2803215191 Moscow All-Union Radio Second Program Radio-2 Network in Russian 2050 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Rallies in support of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin took place in Moscow today. The demonstrators wanted to assemble in Manezhnaya Square but were not admitted there. As a result rallies took place in Arbat Square, Mayakovskiy Square, and a number of other places in the capital. Some 150,000 took part.

These are data provided by the Russian News Agency [Rossiyskoye Informatsionnoye Agenstvo]

Estimates Say 900,000 at Rally

LD2903005391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2330 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Here is a TASS report: A meeting of the supporters of the Democratic Russia movement took place in the capital on 28 March. At first the intentions of the organizers were to stage the demonstration in Manezhnaya Square, where two columns of the participants should have come from Mayakovskiy Square and Kalininskiy Avenue. But the entrance to Red Square was blocked by Army subunits and by law-enforcement units.

Having assessed the situation as explosive, a group of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputies lead by the clergyman Gleb Yakunin lead the people away to Mayakovskiy Square. The meeting took place there.

According to the law-enforcement bodies' estimates, not less than 900,000 people took part in the meeting.

Speakers at the meeting, who included USSR and RSFSR People's Deputies Kalugin, Chernichenko, Yakunin, and others, roundly criticized the activities of the country's prime minister and called for the resignation of the USSR president and for the CPSU to be put on trial. The demonstrators were told that USSR People's Deputies Gdlyan and Ivanov have declared a hunger strike as a sign of their disagreement with the policies of the Union government.

At the same time a group of people's deputies organized a meeting outside the Minsk Hotel. Bocharov, Starovoytova, Krasavchenko, Ponomarev, and other RSFSR people's deputies who spoke at it put forward the same demands. The speakers called on those present to support the political line of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Yeltsin. A statement by the coordinating council of the Democratic Russia movement, which was

read out there, called among other things for the establishment of strike committees at enterprises in the capital and for the holding of a general political strike. Those present were also informed that the Zelenograd town soviet had allocated R100,000 out of town funds as assistance to the striking miners.

After declaring the meeting closed, RSFSR People's Deputy Ponomarev urged those present to disperse and not to allow themselves to be provoked. Several thousand people, however, did gather on Pushkin Square, nevertheless, chanting slogans in support of Yeltsin. Despite the tension prevailing on the streets, there were no confrontations. The people in line outside the McDonald's restaurant, at the very epicenter of the events, stayed put throughout the demonstration, waiting steadfastly for their hamburgers and Big Macs.

Comparison of Khasbulatov on Troop Withdrawal

LD2803224391

Moscow Central Television Second Progam Network in Russian at 1946 GMT on 28 March carries a four-minute recording of the statement by Ruslan Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, at the Third Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow on 28 March. This has been compared with the Moscow Radio Rossii Network version, published in the 28 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page 49, and has been found to be identical with the following addition:

Column two, last paragraph, only sentence, reads ...only very briefly, because the conversation was quite lengthy. Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to say that if we have our own head of state in Russia, armed with real power, you and I would not find ourselves in such a helpless situation. Therefore, draw the necessary conclusion and begin the agenda with this question. [applause]... (supplying additional passage)

Russian People's Deputies Congress Continues

28 Mar Session Continues

LD2803213191

Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1852 GMT on 28 March begins to carry a program entitled "Third Extraordinary Congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] People's Deputies," which comprises recordings of the proceedinsg of the congress at the Kremlin in Moscow on 28 March.

At 1928 GMT the recording of the afternoon session begins. Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, asks if the congress will continue to listen to proposals on the agenda. It is necessary to remember that the congress is being held at an unfavorable time when much of the work in the fields, sowing and so forth, needs to be done. We should decide to end the congress within five days, he recommends.

Deputy (?Ginsburg) says he agrees with Yeltsin on the need to work quickly. He proposes three procedural points for inclusion on the agenda.

Deputy Menshikov says he understands that the economic system cannot be transformed without major political changes. He adds, however, we msut remember that we live in the real world and we are forced to take certain steps: we must make contact with the miners as the metallurgical industry is on the verge of collapse. Therefore the miners' strike and its effects on the metallurgical industry must be on the agenda.

Deputy Zakharov says that this congress is convened constitutionally. We must discuss the situation in the republic, especially the miners' strike. The Union treaty must be discussed. Everyone is in favor of introducing the post of president, but it must not be examined by the present congress because the necessary work has not been carried out. This issue should be postponed to the next congress.

Deputy (?Ivanilov) agrees that the congress must be short. The Smena group says that the post of presidency and also the reorganization of governing bodies in RSFSR should be examined.

Deputy Volodin says all are talking to those who were at today's demonstration but are ignoring those who remain silent. The situation in the country is the basic issue for this silent majority. He notes the lack of work on intorducing the post of president.

Yeltsin explains a procedural matter. Deputy Krivchenko says it is unacceptable that some deputies are trying to change the first point on the agenda; it must remain as agreed upon by the Supreme Soviet. As regards the presidency, the majority of the people have just voted in favor of it. He supports the discussion of a law on withdrawing a deputy's mandate.

Deputy Medvedev says it is time to decide on the agenda. If a law on the presidency cannot be adopted by the conrgess then it will be necessary to introduce the law by referendum. A Ryazan deputy says that the referendum shows that the people want a presidency. In Ryazan 71 percent voted for a Russian president. There is no issue more important than this. He proposes that the congress be adjourned anjd be resumed in another city.

Ruslan Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, says that he has spoken with USSR President Gorbachev. He brought to his attention the decision adopted by the congress in the morning. He tried to convince the president to listen to the congress requests. As regards removing the Armed forces from Moscow streets today, the president refused to compromise. At the same time he promised that tomorrow they will be removed; today they are there to stop possible

disorders. Gorbachev respects the congress but he will not change his decision today. If we had our own head of state we would not be in such a powerless position, Khasbulatov argues and asks the deputies to bear this in mind when deciding the agenda.

Yeltsin asks for further proposals. Deputy (?Gorevich) says he thinks that our confrontation with the center has overstepped the limit. We are not the real authority here, therefore we must interrupt the work of the congress and transfer it to Leningrad, he urges. He asks that deputies go to their electorate this evening and show their support.

Deputy (?Rzhanikov) also calls for work to be interrupted until tomorrow. However we must decide who is the authority here in Moscow and in Russia. The Moscow militia must be ordered to return to their normal posts.

Several deputies then recommend that the congress continues to work.

Deputy (?Istovoy) says that the reason for the present confrontation is that the Moscow soviet has already banned several demonstrations. The USSR president has the right to ban demonstrations in Moscow. Moscow soviet should end its ban on demonstrations.

Deputy Baburin calls for work not to be interrupted. He says we need to examine recent union decrees as the first item on the agenda.

At 2007 Deputy Golovin, speaking for the Smena group, says that the military presence is making the atmosphere difficult and proposes that proceedings be adjourned until tomorrow.

Deputy Savchenko says a show has been under way from the start of the congress. The political differences should be hammered out in consultative committees. A subsidiary report must be allowed, otherwise there is no democratic debate.

Deputy Nikitin says he is one of the 272 who signed the extraordinary congress appeal. The agenda should include just the three points, and discussion of agenda should be ended.

A Leningrad deputy reminds the congress of Tbilisi.

Yeltsin proposes ending the discussion of the agenda. The vote is: 855 for, 80 against, and 14 abstentions.

Yeltsin then proposes a motion to adjourn proceedings until tomorrow and to hold consultations on the agenda today.

Deputy Stepanov says everything should be done to ensure no one is hurt today. Another deputy says that if the situation gets out of hand, the president should take the blame, and this should be added to the decision. A female deputy says the army presence is hindering the congress, and the congress has to demonstrate that power in Russia resides here.

Deputy Kalashnikov says that in addition to the chairman's report there should be a subsidiary report from one of the chairman's deputies.

Yeltsin asks for a vote to end the discussion on whether to adjourn the proceedings. It is adopted: 859 for, 96 against, and 10 abstentions. He reads the two proposals: first, to suspend proceedings until the president lifts his decrees and to hold an RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in the meantime: second, to suspend proceedings until tomorrow, to hold political consultations on the agenda, to ask Moscow city council to do all it can to prevent disorders and ask Internal Affairs Minister Barannikov to ensure there is no trouble.

Option 1 is voted down: 370 for, 525 against, and 58 abstentions. The first part of option 2 is adopted: 615 for, 354 against, and 20 abstentions. Yeltsin says he will appeal to Moscow Council and Barannikov on behalf of the congress.

The recording of the congress proceedings ends at 2040 GMT.

Agenda for 29 Mar Morning Session

LD2903074991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0727 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, 29 Mar (TASS)—The Third Extraordinary Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] People's Deputies continued work at 1000 this morning in the Great Kremlin Palace. Deputies are to finish discussing proposals for the agenda put forward by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

It is proposed to discuss issues of the political and socioeconomic situation in the RSFSR and measures to get out of the crisis—a report by Boris Yeltsin, the head of the Russian legislature; on the national-state structure of the RSFSR (on the federation treaty); on the Union treaty; to acknowledge the powers of RSFSR people's deputies elected after the second congress; to approve the RSFSR procurator general; and possibly to consider other issues as well.

Further Details on Session

LD2903103791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Igor Minayev report]

[Text] USSR President Gorbachev has fulfilled the promise given yesterday to Russian deputies. The troops have been removed from the center of Moscow. This was noted this morning in the Great Kremlin Palace where

the extraordinary Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Congress of People's Deputies continues its work.

Today it is proposed to complete the discussion of the agenda; to discuss the republic's political and socioeconomic situation and measures to emerge from the crisis; to hear the report by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; to discuss questions on Russia's national and state apparatus and on the Union treaty; and possibly to discuss other questions.

Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, reported today at the congress that 150,000 to 200,000 people took part in yesterday's demonstration [manifestatsii] in Moscow. On the whole, the demonstrators behaved calmly, although it is true that the demonstration did not pass without incident. Some group tried to smash windows and to start a fight. However, the militia intervened and was successful in stabilizing the situation.

A one-hour break, which was not planned, has been announced at the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies. The deputies cannot approve the agenda and work order for the congress. More detailed information about the congress will come in our next news bulletins.

Yuriy Rostov says that one cannot agree with Voronin's call to have economic issues debated. He adds: "There is also a view that an attempt to have the leadership of Russia replaced is one of the main reasons that prompted the convocation of the congress. Yuriy Chernichenko is a prominent journalist. He is now the leader of the Peasants' Party. Do you agree with this?"

As the video shows him speaking, Chernichenko begins by congratulating Russian television at being able to broadcast from this historic hall. He is happy that the siege, as he calls it, has been lifted from around the Kremlin. The "royal cavalry, the entire army of the king" has disappeared this morning, he says. He continues: "You do understand that this hardware with which the Kremlin was surrounded is directly connected with the battle that is currently under way? Only a dreamer or a naive person can see these two things as being separate and unconnected with each other. Things did not work out by military means so, of course, they ought to work out by these democratic means, as it is so elegantly put. I am seated at the back of the hall and I see a little how all this is being stage-managed and directed, where the levers are being pulled and where they are not being pulled. It is very interesting, because I myself do not vote, as I am not a delegate to this congress. I understand that the battle is to go on. A sudden attack to seize Moscow and to arrest the congress did not work out."

Voronin says: "I would not put it like that. It was done to arrest Moscow."

Chernichenko: Yes, if there had been no goal, the divisions would not have been deployed here."

Rostov then asks: "My final question, as our airtime is running out, is what majority will there be at the congress?"

Chernichenko: "You saw a manifestation of this majority yesterday—532 votes for one side, 280 or so for the other. In order to vote by a constitutional amendment making it possible to elect Yeltsin, some 660 votes, or two-thirds, are needed. I am not convinced that the congress in its present composition can carry off this vote."

Rostov reminds viewers that the next broadcast is at 1515 GMT. A studio announcer says the next report is at 1115 GMT. A final caption says that the program was compiled by the all-Russian and all-Union television and radio companies.

Roundup of 29 Mar Morning Session

LD2903113891

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 0915 GMT on 29 March carries a 10-minute live or recorded report rounding up the events surrounding and proceedings of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Third Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies, including the morning session on 29 March.

Reporter Vladimir Flyarkovskiy reports that "Russian television is again on the air" with a report from the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies, which has been prepared together with Central Television. He reports over night video of moving vehicles that military equipment was withdrawn from the center of Moscow. He says: "Our correspondent, Igor Mizilintsev, together with a camera team, toured the whole central part of the city yesterday evening and this morning. They are witness to the fact that the military equipment has been withdrawn. Yesterday we managed to talk to truck drivers who took part in the street picketing. Judging from what they said, the deployment of the military equipment took about an hour."

Flyarkovskiy adds that the Western press and the Soviet press focused more on the rally than the congress. "According to the militia and foreign correspondents, from 100,000 to 200,000 people took part in yesterday's rally. This is a wide margin, but the figures themselves are striking. According to representatives of the Soviet security forces, there were no arrests yesterday." However, an American senator said in an interview with Radio Liberty that he saw some demonstrators being pushed onto a bus.

Foreign radio stations reported that the first day of the congress was the first proof of support for Yeltsin. A British sovietologist, Professor Geoffrey Hosking, is

quoted as saying that Yeltsin and his advisers have a good program but they have not been able to convince the people.

Flyarkovskiy then says: "Let us now listen to what took place at the congress during the first two hours of today's session."

As the video shows Ruslan Khasbulatov speaking, with Yeltsin seated to his right, Khasbulatov says: "In the first place, let us deal with the question of the troop concentration. As you have seen, they are not in the center of Moscow. In this regard the president's promise has been kept. There are certain subtleties and nuances, but, as you can see, our requests and appeals have had a certain effect."

Deputy Filippov then says: "I propose that the debate be stopped now and that we vote, in accordance with the standing orders, on the points of the agenda, with preference being given to the points that have been agreed upon by the general commission, and that we get on with constructive work by the congress."

The video then switches to reporter Svetlana Sorokina, who points out that voting on the attitude to the acts by the Union government showed an approximate distribution of forces in the deputies' hall. In the first hour and a half of today's work of the congress, reproaches to the teller's commission and even doubts about the electronic system of vote counting were expressed. Deputy Anishchev from the electronic control group called on the deputies not to trust the system and to resort to the "show of hands" vote, but this proposal did get any support.

Deputies exchanged their views on yesterday's meeting. Their speeches were very emotional. Khasbulatov had to start switching microphones off. He provided a short report on the military equipment being withdrawn, saying it is necessary to continue work.

Sorokina reports that yesterday the Conciliation Commission worked for a few hours and tried to choose three to four of the most important issues out of 20 proposed issues.

She says: "Today the agenda proposed by the commission was read.

"First, there will be a report by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet on the political, social, and economic situation. Probably there is a need to adopt an appeal to miners within this context.

"Second, there will be a discussion on the national and state organization of the RSFSR and on the Russian referendum and on the implementation of its decisions.

"Third, we will discuss the Union treaty.

"Fourth, any other business will be covered, if the deputies so desire."

Sorokina says that was decided yesterday at the sitting of the Conciliation Commission, but the problem is that everyone in the hall has his own opinion, which does not necessarily coincide with the opinion of the leaders of factions, parties, or groups to which they belong. That is why the congress did not manage to adopt the agenda as a whole.

Sorokina then lists the main points of disagreement: a demand for a report by somebody from a group of six; the wording "implementation of the results of the referendum" caused a storm of emotion, as was expected; and the issue of the Russian presidency promises to be a bloody one. She quotes a deputy who says that the main disagreement is that communists demand Yeltsin to report back and democrats demand him to deliver a report.

Yuriy Rostov then continues the report with a round-up of reports in the foreign media on the work of the congress. He interviews Aleksandr Ivanovich Voronin, a deputy in military uniform, who calls for an accord to be reached among all political groups and deputies, and states the need to deal with economic issues.

'Deadlocked' Over Agenda

LD2903103891 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 29 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow March 29 TASS—Participants in Russia's emergency Congress of People's Deputies remained deadlocked over the forum's agenda for the second day today.

On Thursday they bickered over the agenda for more than two hours and then formed a conciliation commission, including representatives from all deputies' groups, which grappled with the issue for four hours, but failed to produce results.

A draft agenda, proposed by the Russian parliament to the congress, included three major issues—a report by parliament Chairman Boris Yeltsin about ways to take the republic out of the crisis, on Russia's national-state structure and on the Union treaty.

Today's debate showed that deputies are most divided over the proposal to include a discussion of the results of the Russian referendum on the agenda, which would discuss prospects of a stronger presidency in Russia.

The supreme legislature cut short its session to enable the conciliatory commission to arrange a consensus.

Resumes After Break

LD2903122191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network Russian 1000 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Excerpts] The Extraordinary Third Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] People's

Deputies is continuing today in the Grand Kremlin Palace. Our correspondent, Olga Vasilenko, will report on today's work there:

[Vasilenko] Just five days have been allotted for the congress. At least, that is what is written in the rules for the congress' work. But the agenda has, unfortunately, not been approved; rather, it has been voted on. An hour and a half ago they voted on all the points as a package, as defined by Khasbulatov, who is in the chair today. The ratio of votes was like this: 537 for, 423 against. But immediately there were protests. Again and again there were new proposals.

I will report on everything in the order in which it happened. [passage omitted]

Deputies insisted again and again on reports by Isakov, or maybe somebody else from the Group of Six. There were also demands to adopt an appeal to the miners. [passage omitted] As I said, a package of points on the agenda has been adopted. It contains three points: on the political and social and economic situation in the RSFSR and measures to get out of the crisis, and Khasbulatov proposed that deputies think about the appeal to the miners within the framework of this point; the second point is the national-state structure of the RSFSR, the federation treaty, the referendum, and the implementation of its decision; and the third is the Union treaty.

Doubt is being cast on the work of the conciliation commission, and that of some of the members of the conciliation commission themselves. The implementation of the decisions of the referendum means the issue of the presidency, and a considerable proportion of the congress believes that this issue is not ready for discussion and that it needs to be postponed to another congress. The result of such fruitless vigils at the microphones, and there is still a long line for the microphones, was an hour-long interval for another round of work by the conciliation commission. The commission passed by our correspondents' stand into the hall, together with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, who participated in its work. [passage omitted]

The presidium is in place. Deputy (Novikov) from Moscow has spoken on behalf of the conciliation commission and proposed the results of the conciliation commission's work. I will report about this in our subsequent news bulletins. In general, there are few deviations, but a lot of new nuances that will probably be put to a vote by the deputies. I will close here.

Decide on Three Points of Agenda

LD2903120591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Excerpts] The Third Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] resumed its work today. Ruslan Khasbulatov informed the deputies that in accordance with yesterday's decision of the RSFSR congress, troops were withdrawn last night from the center of Moscow. It will take some time to implement the point on revoking the president's decree with regard to the Moscow militia. The Moscow militia will remain the Moscow militia, and we are not going to tolerate any infringement on Russia's sovereignty, Khasbulatov noted. [passage omitted]

Then a stormy discussion on the agenda started. Three points on the agenda have been confirmed:

First, there will be a report by Yeltsin on the political, social, and economic situation in the RSFSR. This point also provides for two further reports by Deputy Isakov and Deputy Zakharov, chairman of the committee for social affairs.

Second, there will be a discussion on the national and state organization of the RSFSR, on the federative treaty, and on the results of the Russian referendum.

Third, there will be a discussion on the Union treaty.

There were proposals to introduce into the agenda issues on Russia's president and on a decree on power. Both proposals were rejected. Then it was decided to stop discussion and to confirm the agenda. You will hear a detailed report on the first half of the congress's work on our station at 1500 [1200 GMT].

Electronic Voting System Criticized

AU2903110591 Paris AFP in English 1004 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, March 29 (AFP) — Communist deputies complaining about the Russian parliament's voting system on Friday held up moves towards creating a popularly elected presidency tailor-made for Gorbachev rival Boris Yeltsin.

The debate, postponed from Thursday when the security forces massed to contain a pro-Yeltsin rally, was held up as Communist deputies complained about the reliability of the electronic voting system.

The system was used on Thursday when the Congress of People's Deputies voted overwhelmingly to suspend the session.

The Communists, who are hoping to oust Mr. Yeltsin as the Russian president, also said that their names were marked by a star on the lists so their votes could be scrutinised.

The dispute caused confusion and held up adoption of a four-point agenda, which included constitutional changes creating a popularly elected presidency in the Soviet Union's largest republic. Mr. Yeltsin was narrowly elected as president by deputies, but enjoys large popular support.

Mr. Yeltsin was to deliver a report on the republic's economic and political situation on Friday.

Meanwhile, Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov told the session that between 150,000 and 200,000 attended Thursday's demonstration in support of the radical Russian leader.

He said the demonstration had passed without any problems and the police had taken a "correct and legal" attitude.

Votes for Yeltsin Report Live Relay

LD2903115891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] This station has just received information that the deputies of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] congress voted in favor of a live relay on television of a report by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and two other reports. A total of 659 people voted in favor, while 80 people voted against.

TV Reports RSFSR Congress, Moscow Scenes

LD2803170991

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1515 GMT on 28 March carries a 10-minute report on the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] noting that it sat for just four hours today. Correspondent Flyarkovskiy begins by recapping some aspects of its work: The deputies were annoyed at the presence of military hardware they witnessed in the city; there were proposals that the sitting move to Leningrad; debates were heated, especially around the question of the introduction of the post RSFSR president; deputies worked on the agenda in groups or factions after the congress was suspended; at the moment deputies are meeting in factions with Khasbulatov.

At 1518 GMT correspondent Svetlana Sorokina takes the microphone; she interviews communist deputy N. A. Pavlov, a representative of the Russia faction. He says a compromise can be found in the current problems. She then interviews Petr Dmitrovich, a representative of the Democratic Russia faction. The first question to be discussed is how to get us out of the mess made by Gorbachev, he says. The most important issue is the introduction of the post of president. But we cannot be in session when we have guns trained upon us. The president and the prime minister are leading the country into an abyss, he says. Sorokina then quotes the results of a public opioion poll on the introduction of the presidency in Russia.

At 1523 GMT correspondent Yuriy Rostov reports on the "complex" situation in Moscow today; he speaks on events already reported in the Soviet media such as the fire at U.S. embassy. He continues: "But to return to the central event, the Congress of People's Deputies, the security measures taken in Moscow were really impressive. That is, convoys of vehicles carrying militia, soldiers and OMON [special purpose militia detachment] personnel, moved toward the center of Moscow not only during the night and morning, but during the middle of the day also.

"Our operators tried to take these shots. The center was fenced off by cordons of soldiers and militiamen. Manezh Square was fenced off and we have just received a phone call reporting how the course of events is developing in connection with the demonstration which was planned for today. The demonstrators moved along Gorkiy Street and just reached the Yermolov Theater, where they were met by a cordon. But the members of the security bodies did not behave in a flagrantly rough fashion as has been reported to us and did not oust the demonstrators from their reinforced ranks. The demonstrators turned round and are now moving along Gorkiy Street, and Gavriil Popov is now deciding where the rally will be held," Rostov says.

He continues: "Today revealed a rather unexpected trend. A sociological survey was published a few hours before the congress which showed that the distance between the political views of the deputies at the congress is very acute. There are 150 deputies in the center, and 30-50 to the left and the right. In principle, such an alignment of forces does not hinder, [changes thought] does not promote constructive work. Nevertheless, the first important decision which was adopted today—on an interval in the work of the congress—was adopted by overwhelming majority of votes. Perhaps tomorrow will show that the sharp political delimitation which existed before the congress is replaced by some other form of coalition."

Communist Group Denies Yeltsin Ousting Rumors

LD2803175191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1653 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By correspondent Roman Grigoryev]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—Representatives of the "Communists of Russia" group of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputies have refuted the spreading rumors that this group aims to topple Boris Yeltsin from his post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Boris Kibirev and Boris Tarasov, members of the group, speaking today at the news conference which took place at the Oktyabrskaya Hotel in the capital, stated that such assertions do not reflect reality.

Representatives of the group arrived to meet journalists this afternoon immediately after the work of the congress of the RSFSR people's deputies was adjourned until tomorrow morning. Members of the group shared their impressions about the first day of the congress' work. In their opinion, the congress is being held in a very complicated situation. "Some speakers are now ruled by their emotions. I think that this is a temporary phenomenon. I hope that tomorrow we shall be able to settle down to normal work," said Boris Kiberev.

As is known, the congress has suspended, by a majority of votes, the government's decision to ban meetings and demonstrations in Moscow for 20 days. In addition, the congress suspended the decree of the USSR president on releasing the Moscow militia from subordination to the city authorities.

Civil Defense Radio System Access Denied

PM2803212991 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 29 Mar 91 p 3

["At First Hand" report by Sergey Doronin: "Alarm Canceled"]

[Text] The information put out on the air 27 March by Leningrad's "600 Seconds" television program was simply staggering. According to Captain Second Rank M. Ivanov, tactics and operational skills instructor at the Navy Higher Courses for Officer Personnel, the communications centers and powerful radio stations of the country's Civil Defense system could now be used by the Russia's Supreme Soviet and government to directly address the Russian Federation's population.

This report, it must be assumed, is associated with only one thing: The ceaseless complaints by a number of Russian legislators about the so-called "information blockade organized by the center," because of which the people do not know the whole truth about the activities of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet or the republic's government.

But how do matters stand in reality? This question was explained by Major General Ye. Tsytsulin, chief of the USSR Civil Defense Communications Directorate:

"The Russian Federation leadership did indeed make such a proposal to USSR Prime Minister V. Pavlov. The question was studied in detail by representatives of the Union and Russian Ministries of Communications, the USSR Defense Ministry, and Civil Defense.

"It was deemed impossible to use the communications facilities and frequencies at the disposal of Civil Defense for news and other radio broadcasts. Both the Russian leadership and the Defense Ministry were informed of this.

"The Civil Defense communications networks and radio stations have a different function—prompt reception of warnings about possible natural disasters and notification of the populace."

Oil, Gas Industry Workers Consider Strike

LD2803170691 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] In the near future the Soviet economy will evidently face new difficulties. Workers of the Russian oil and gas industry have started discussing a strike, following the example of coal miners. Oil and gas fields in Russia (?that) produced the bulk of the country's fuel (?are on) the verge of decline.

The demands are: realistic oil and gas prices, additional marketing possibilities for companies, and the removal of restrictions on the growth of earnings.

Comparison of Silayev on Economic Measures

LD2603175591

Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 1630 GMT on 26 March carries a seven-minute recording of comments by Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, at a news conference on 26 March. The place of the news conference is not given.

This version has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Service version, published in the 27 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page 55, and has been found to be identical, except for the following addition:

Column two, second complete paragraph, last sentence reads ...swords into plowshares. [new graf]

[Journalist] POLITIKA, Yugoslavia: The main question is the question of property—you spoke about this today—since on the territory of Russia, the overwhelming preponderance—all the major industry and, especially, the natural resources—are union property. How will you resolve this matter?

[Silayev] Much attention is being paid to that in our actions. We have a whole section on this. This includes demonopolization and destatification and privatization. Well, I can only add that we intend, this year, to carry out a considerable part of privatization of the small-scale sphere, so to say, turning it into private business. But, as far as concerns major enterprises and associations, we are planning—and not just planning but also acting—along the path of withdrawing from union or any other structures and creating the necessary conditions for moving over, in the main, to share-holding forms of property. That is envisaged in the program.

[Journalist] Your previous... (supplying additional passage)

Western Republics

Kravchuk Terms Draft Treaty 'Inconsistent'

LD2803212991 Moscow TASS in English 2111 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev March 28 TASS—The Ukrainian parliament has set up a working group which began to draw up proposals concerning the draft Union treaty. Proposals will be based on the principles set out in the declaration

of the state sovereignty of the Ukraine, Ukrainian parliament chief Leonid Kravchuk told a news conference here on Thursday.

A package of proposals will take into consideration, without fail, wishes by the parliamentary opposition who account for a third of parliament members, he said.

The results of the March 17 all-Union referendum have shown that a majority of the Soviet people favour a renewed union. However, Kravchuk emphasised, the characteristic feature of the Ukraine is that Ukrainian people favour such a Union which would accord with the interests of the sovereign republic.

The Ukrainian parliament and its president have a number of substantial criticial remarks concerning the draft treaty published in the press, Kravchuk said.

He described the document as "inconsistent either politically or legally".

Kravchuk believes that issues concerning the division of property, the powers of the republics and the centre, and republics' contribution to the all-Union budget have not been worked out in the draft treaty.

Speaking about giving greater scope to the republic's foreign policy and foreign economic activities, Kravchuk said that the Ukraine has no designs on the rights of the centre but that it would like as a sovereign state to exercise its rights and broaden contacts with foreign countries in the interests of the republic.

Ukraine Nuclear Power Unit Stopped

LD2803175491 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Alexey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev March 28 TASS—The personnel of the south Ukrainian nuclear power plant noticed on Wednesday night the increased leakage of water from the first loop to the air-tight shell, a spokesman for the management department of the south Ukrainian district of the USSR State Nuclear Inspection told UKRINFORM-TASS. On the permission of the chief engineer of the nuclear power plant, the equipment inside the air-tight shell was examined. Water leakage was found in the first loop, which was the result of a defect in an auxiliary water conduit. On the instruction of the chief engineer, the power unit was stopped at 04.10 to eliminate the defect.

"This is a purely technological stoppage of the power unit, which was brought about by a defect in the auxiliary and not main equipment, said Nikolay Denisenko, head of the management department of the south western district of the state nuclear inspection. "There was no emergency situation, no leakage of radioactive substances into the atmosphere exceeding the permissible norms. The power unit was stopped in accordance with normal regime. A day and a half, or two days, will be needed to eliminate the defect, including preparatory operations. After that the power unit will resume functioning."

Caucasus

More Bloodshed Reported in South Ossetia

LD2803202191 Moscow TASS in English 1951 GMT 28 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent V.Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 28 TASS—According to the information of the North Ossetian Interior Ministry, several Ossetians were wounded in the Tskhinvali region during the past 24 hours in the course of the armed conflict. Thirty people, including women and children, were taken hostage in the village of Ubiata, Znaur region. Three Georgian fighters, who were plundering houses belonging to Ossetian families, were killed near the village of Khelchua, Tskhinvali region. Another one was wounded. Two local residents were killed and one wounded.

About 30 populated localities with predominantly Ossetian population were practically burned and plundered, the TASS correspondent has been told at the press centre of the emergency committee at the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian Republic. According to the information, Georgian fighters use in their attacks armoured vehicles, automatic rifles and large- calibre machine-guns. Residents of the villages of Dminisi, Veleti, Teregvani and Khetagurovo are offering resistance to the fighters.

More and more refugees are coming to Tskhinvali from Georgia. Some 3,000 people came there during the past two days. The regional centre continues to be subjected to economic and food blockade.

Cease-fire Claims Denied

PM2703165391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 91 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report under general heading: "South Ossetia: Shooting and Atrocities"]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 26 Mar—Georgian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] reports that the idea that there is no more shooting in or around Tskhinvali and that agreement on a cease-fire has been reached between the Georgian and Ossetian armed formations does not accord with reality. It was announced today at the press center of the North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet chairman's emergency committee that the situation in South Ossetia remains extremely tense. Shots are resounding again. The conflicting sides are using automatic weapons, large-caliber machine guns, and grenade throwers.

According to the North Ossetian MVD reports, a large accumulation of Georgian thugs is to be observed around the rayon center of Znauri. At night they terrorize the inhabitants, burn down houses, and demand money.

Nor is the shooting abating in Tskhinvali. Last night the forces of the so-called "Georgian militia" fired on the city's residential districts. A 15-year-old Ossetian boy was seriously injured by a shot from a rifle.

South Ossetia is still completely encircled by an economic and food blockade. In Tskhinvali there is a critical situation with regard to food and medical supplies. Electricity and water are being supplied with long interruptions. According to the reports from the North Ossetian health and epidemic service, there is a threat of the outbreak of an epidemic in the emergency situation region.

All Tskhinvali Bank Holdings Sent To Tbilisi

LD2803170891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Bank vaults in Tskhinvali and several South Ossetia rayons have been empty for two months. All money and other valuables were taken to Tbilisi as a result of a decision by the Georgian leadership. The USSR State Bank has sent 15 [figure as heard] million rubles to South Ossetia, because local depositers and people holding accounts had been forced to carry out their financial operations through Tbilisi banks. Also, the Georgian parliament has voiced a resolute protest and demanded an explanation from the board of the USSR State Bank.

Georgian Officer Corps Registered in Georgia

AU2803152491 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian 22 March 91 p 2

[Statement by the Council of the Georgian Officer Corps published by SAKINFORM]

[Text] On 21 January 1991, the Government of the Republic of Georgia registered the Officer Corps of Georgia.

The Officer Corps of Georgia sets itself as an object to unite officers and generals, whether in active service, reserve, or retirement, in a social organization called upon to promote the creation of the republic's defense capacity, the formation of its own armed forces, military and sports training, and the technological education of the young generation.

The Officer Corps of Georgia consists of the Council of the Officer Corps and its rayon (city) organizations. Rayon organizations of the Officer Corps are being presently created. The Dusheti, Kareli, and Gori rayon organizations have already been created and have joined the national service. It is necessary to accelerate the creation of rayon organizations in the republic. For this, it might be expedient to create, in rayons, officers' action committees that will get instruction at the Council of the republican Officer Corps at the following address: Tbilisi, 6, Shevchenko Street, second floor, Tel.: 98-78-47.

Reserve Colonel Dzhemal Kutateladze has been elected chairman of the republican Council of the Officer Corps. The reserve Lieutenant-Colonel Rozland Lakiya, Colonel Hamlet [Gamlet] Gegenava, and reserve Major Temur Mikautidze have been elected deputy chairmen.

The Council of the Georgian Officer Corps is calling upon all officers and members of their families residing in Georgia to take an active part in the republican referendum on 31 March 1991 and to vote for the restoration of Georgian independence.

New Tskhinvali Commander's Arrival Brings Hope

AU2703121391 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 21 March 91 p 1

[Interview with Colonel Tengiz Epitashvili, commander of Tskhinvali and Java rayon, by SAKINFORM correspondent Rita Dolidze, date not given: "Our Program's Short-term Aim is To Stop the Shooting"]

[Text] **New Commander Optimistic**

Tamarasheni, Kurta, Achabeti, K'ekhvi, Monast'eri, and now Eredvi. Increasingly more new names are appearing in news received from Samachablo [South Ossetia]. Each day, the number of victims is increasing on both sides. People have become ferocious and cruel and are not heeding the voice of reason....

One week is not long enough to get settled in a new post but from the first few days of his arrival, Colonel Tengiz Epitashvili, commander of Tskhinvali and Java rayon, realized that the situation that has been created in the conflict zone calls for speedy action.

Tengiz Vasilovich Epitashvili is 55 years old and a native of Tbilisi. He is deputy Minister of Internal Affairs and holds the rank of colonel. He has received a higher military education. He served for 17 years abroad, five of them were spent in Afghanistan. He is married with one son and one daughter and has one grandchild.

"Unfortunately, the situation is again tense," said T. Epitashvili. "There is shooting all night long. The last two nights have been particularly strenuous as Ossetian extremists have been firing at the militia headquarters building until daybreak. Five unguided missiles were launched in our direction from the town. These here." The commander shows us the remains of the missiles with distinguishable details of their manufacture still visible. "It is not only Georgian militia positions that have come under fire but adjoining Georgian villages where several buildings have been destroyed. Fortunately, there have been no victims if we discount the act of vandalism that occurred on 18 March when [four] people were doused with petrol and burned alive. This

exceeds all norms of human behavior. Following these barbaric murders, a criminal investigation has been started; the criminals will be caught and punished accordingly. However, this "heroic deed" will no doubt also be condemned by Ossetians as crime knows no frontiers."

"Mr. Tengiz, what are the short- and long-term aims of your program of action in this region?"

"The short-term aim of our program is to bring a halt to the shooting and the long-term aim is to rebuild bridges between the Georgians and the Ossetians. However, this is an extremely complex matter," he answered with typical military laconism.

"How do you see events developing in the region?"

"I have to be truthful. The situation is becoming worse from day to day. One cannot see an end to this nightmare. However, we are elaborating plans of action that should defuse the situation."

In response to my question as to what were these plans, Mr. Tengiz smiled and said ambiguously: "Let's keep this a secret for the moment."

"As the commander of Tskhinvali and Java rayon, do you have any contact with the people living here?"

"I have met with almost all categories of the population. They made promises to me and, inspite of the fact that, the same night, Georgian militia positions came under continuous fire, I believe these people; simply, they had no power to stop the extremist attack. The whole structure of rule in this region has completely collapsed. We are proceeding at random. People with common sense do not know with whom to establish contact and to hold talks. However, points of contact have already been made and this gives us hope."

"What relations do you have with the commanders of the USSR interior troops stationed in Tskhinvali?"

"I have two deputies: Colonel Jemal Injia who is in charge of the militia subunits and Colonel Vladimir Zhabko who commands the military. Both the militia and the military dutifully carry out all my orders and work together in close cooperation. I believe this cooperation will continue."

We would like to believe that the belated cooperation between the Georgian militia and the military will bring positive results. The optimism of the new commander in the state of emergency zone gives us hope. There must be an end to this senseless bloodshed.

Georgians Appeal to Russian Intelligentsia

AU2703205591 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian 21 Mar 91 p 3

[Georgian writers' "Appeal to Members of the Creative Intelligentsia of Russia"]

[Text] Blood has been shed in Georgia for three months now.

People cannot bury the innocent victims fast enough; hospitals are filled to overflowing with wounded; burned-out schools and houses stand like ghastly skeletons....

The cause of this is well known, for at the root of it lies the infamous imperial theory of "divide and conquer." Because Georgia has embarked on the path of independence and has refused to sign the Union Treaty, the Kremlin has decided to severely punish it, ordering the Soviet Army—concealed behind the Ossetian extremists—to begin direct military action against Georgia.

For the past few decades, the Ossetians have lived in an autonomous oblast formed illegitimately on Georgian soil. That autonomy was bestowed on them 70 years ago by the Bolsheviks as a reward for having plunged a dagger into the back of the independent Georgian Democratic Republic, even though at the time there were just four Ossetian families living in the Georgian town of Tskhinvali.

Naturally, the people who seized the Georgian land were counting on assistance from their historical homeland beyond the Causcasus Mountains, today called the North Ossetian Autonomous Republic. Help in realizing their secret desire—the unification of "North" and "South" Ossetia—was also promised to the Ossetian extremists by the imperial forces.

They began by inciting the Ossetian extremists, who proclaimed the age-old Georgian land to be the independent South Ossetian Soviet Republic.

They wanted to seize part of our homeland, the heart of Georgia—Samachablo—and proclaim it to be the territory of another state. After the natural reaction of the Georgian legislature, the imperial forces put Soviet weapons into the gangsters' hands, telling them to destroy the Georgian civilian population. That is how it all happened, and the operation is still going on "successfully."

The Ossetian gangsters are destroying the Georgian civilian population. Soviet Army units provide them with generous supplies of firearms and rockets. Soviet officers do not even try to make excuses when Georgian Militia groups capture extremists who are equipped with army weapons. It is also a fact that the headquarters of Torez Kulumbekov, the ringleader of the Ossetian extremists, is located in the grounds of one of the Soviet Army units. For safety's sake, naturally!

The Kremlin-inspired war against the Georgians is well concealed behind a shield called the mass media. Unsophisticated readers and viewers are being methodically told every day how "brutally" the Georgians are dealing out reprisals against Ossetians armed to the teeth. When a Georgian is killed by an Ossetian extremist, it is presented as a killing committed by a fighter of unknown

nationality (perhaps even by another Georgian). If an Ossetian is wounded, however, he is invariably prclaimed to be the victim of an extremist of Georgian nationality. When Central Television shows burned down schools in Tsinkhvali, it "forgets" to add that they are Georgian schools. After all, if the television were to add the word "Georgian," the viewer would quickly realize that the Georgian schools could have been burned down only by Ossetian gangsters, despite their "peaceful" temper.

Georgian writers want the Russian intelligentsia and the whole people, as well as other nations, to know the truth—the whole truth—about the tragic events in Georgia; they raise their voices in defense of justice.

Today, when the mass media under the control of the empire are spreading slander about Georgia, the voice of truly progressive and democratically minded writers, whose word is highly valued by the people and who are able, by revealing the truth, to block the path of the forces of darkness, must be heard.

Far more Georgians have been killed in this unjust, fratricidal war than Ossetians. Far more Georgians have been made refugees in their own land than the Ossetians settled here. The Ossetian extremists have burned all the Georgian schools.... [sentence as published]

In the ancient Georgian town of Tsinkhvali there is hardly a single Georgian left, and armored troop carriers purportedly stolen from the Soviet Army by the Ossetian extremists rumble along its streets.

Georgia has already experienced (on 9 April 1989) the whole horror of a punitive expedition by the Kremlin. Now it has become the subject of a bloody act that is even greater in scale, namely the implementation of Gorbachev's clear plan to punish the unruly republics—as simple as that.

To this end, the Kremlin has tried to bring pressure to bear on Moldavia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Now it is the turn of the Baltic republics and Georgia.

The Ossetian extremists are in military confrontation against us, encouraged by the imperial forces, not the fraternal Ossetian people who have always lived in peace with, and as blood brothers of, the Georgians (suffice it to say that more than half the marriages here are mixed, i.e. Georgian-Ossetian). These Ossetians have developed and continue to develop their culture and language on the territory of Georgia far more successfully than they did in their historical homeland.

We ask you urgently, while there is still time, to heed the voice of enfeebled people, including the Ossetians on hunger strike in the Georgian Permanent Mission in Moscow, to take the catastrophe of Georgia to heart and condemn the violence.

Something said by you now may be of historic importance in the just cause of stopping the underhanded venture directed against the Georgian and Ossetian peoples.

Murman Lebanidze, Shota Nishnianidze, Revaz Mishveladze, Guram Gverdtsiteli, Georgiy Gachechiladze, Igor Bogomolov, Mziya Khetaguri.

Yeltsin, Gamsakhurdia Discuss S. Ossetia

PM2803141991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 91 p 1

[Correspondent N. Mikeladze report: "Meeting Between B. Yeltsin and Z. Gamsakhurdia"]

[Text] B. Yeltsin and Z. Gamsakhurdia have held talks in Georgia's Kazbegskiy Rayon. The result of the visit is a protocol on the meeting and talks between the two leaders. A draft Treaty on Interstate Relations Between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and the Georgian Republic is to be prepared as early as April.

Yeltsin, according to appraisals by Georgian political circles, reaffirmed the Russian position of nonintervention in neighboring republics' internal affairs. He submitted a package of proposals on joint actions to stabilize the situation in the former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

It is proposed that the Russian and Georgian Ministries of Internal Affairs set up a joint commission within 10 days and give an objective appraisal of the situation before 20 April. A joint militia detachment for disarming all illegal formations and maintaining order in the region is to be set up before 10 April. Judging from the talks' results, the Ministry of Defense will soon receive a proposal on the redeployment of Soviet Army units from the conflict zone. And, as follows from the Georgian leader's comments, this appeal will come from the Russian authorities.

The governments of Russia, Georgia, and North Ossetia are required to prepare the conditions for the return of refugees and for the compensation of losses incurred by them.

Gamsakhurdia Queried on Goals, Media

91US0379A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 20 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Z. Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, by Vladimir Matusevich, director of Radio Liberty's Russian service, recorded by Nika Kvizhinadze, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Tbilisi correspondent, on 14 March; published under the heading "Political Self-Portrait: Z. Gamsakhurdia": How Many Foreigners Are There in Georgia?"]

[Text] **On 23 February 1991 at a news conference in Tbilisi in the presence of Soviet and foreign journalists, Z.**

Gamsakhurdia, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, announced that he was declaring a boycott on Radio Liberty because it engages in traitorous activity (see RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA for 7 March—"And the Kremlin Commands 'Liberty'"). So it was even more unexpected that he agreed to grant a telephone interview to the director of the radio station's Russian service, Vladimir Matusevich.

On 14 March, at exactly 2 o'clock in the afternoon, fit and trim as usual, Z. Gamsakhurdia entered the studio of the Georgian television station and put on the earphones. Munich was on the line.

I asked the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA editors to publish this interview in full, since Z. Gamsakhurdia again reproached the journalists for distorting his statements. Let the reader judge for himself—what he should agree with and what he should not. I hope that Radio Liberty will not object to this publication.

[Matusevich] Mr. Gamsakhurdia, I would like to express to you my gratitude for your having found the time and considered it useful to grant us an interview. My first question will be of a most general nature but it is unavoidable and crucial. It goes approximately like this: Having spent about four months in the role of a leader, in the position of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, which problem do you consider the most important and the most difficult, the one that is the most dramatic and requires an immediate solution, be it of a political, economic, or national nature?

[Gamsakhurdia] The most important problem, of course, is the restoration of our state independence, that is, complete independence from the Soviet Union, in both the political and economic sense. The latter is the more difficult since, as you know, we are included in the unified economic system of the Soviet Union, a centralized system, and this also presents the major difficulty—finding a way out of it.

[Matusevich] Can you be more specific? For example, what do you see as the economic model for an independent Georgia—a mixed economy, a purely market economy, or some other variant?

[Gamsakhurdia] Apparently those mixed models do not produce any result. A pure market economy is the only salvation for all countries that have suffered from socialism and whose economies have been completely paralyzed and destroyed. This, in my opinion, is the only way out.

[Matusevich] Mr. Gamsakhurdia, speaking of a purely market- based national economy, one must naturally keep in mind the agricultural sector, which has always played and apparently will continue to play an essential role in the national economy of the Georgian Republic. In this connection, what is happening with privatization, if you will, of agriculture?

[Gamsakhurdia] A law on land and a land code are being developed. This is a difficult path, especially in such a multinational republic as Georgia. We are preparing the soil for privatization. But for now we have preserved the state sector. This, of course, is not our program and not our ideology, but we have been forced to live with it whether we like it or not until the law on land is developed.

The law on citizenship is another very difficult problem, as you know. And it is all interconnected—the law on land, the law on citizenship...

[Matusevich] Speaking of privatization of agriculture and the introduction of the right to own land provides a natural transition from purely economic problems of present-day Georgia to political ones. The fact is that on 10 March a TASS correspondent reported from Tbilisi about your speech on Georgian television, Mr. Gamsakhurdia, in which you said approximately the following: Only a person who votes for the restoration of the state independence of Georgia in the republic referendum on 31 March will be granted Georgian citizenship and the right to own land. And you went on to add that voting in the referendum, naturally, was secret. Therefore, the determination of the loyalty of people questioned would depend on the general results for the various regions where there is a high coefficient of non-Georgian population. To be honest, this seems simply incomprehensible to me. Well, all right, let us say that there are 100 individuals in a particular region or population point in Georgia. Forty of them voted one way and 60 voted the other way. Why should the 40 be responsible for how the other 60 voted. And vice versa.

[Gamsakhurdia] We have regions where only non-Georgian population live. My statement pertained to those regions where they waver on the question of Georgian independence. But in general, the non-Georgian population supports the idea of Georgian independence. My words pertained to regions with purely non-Georgian population where there are separatist tendencies. So I did not say this in regard to everyone. Those who heard me knew whom I was talking about. Any democratic state or rule-of-law state grants citizenship to trustworthy people, as it were, those who are not against the given regime or the given people, those who are not enemies of the given nation. So, in my opinion, there is nothing so surprising there.

[Matusevich] Mr. Gamsakhurdia, you have the well deserved reputation of a person who speaks several languages, a person who is familiar with the great world outside, and you must know that in no democratic country is the problem of citizenship related to the political views of the people. An extreme case is someone like the American Communist Angela Davis, who hates the existing system and the existing society in the country, but she is a citizen of the United States and nobody has the right to take that citizenship away from her.

[Gamsakhurdia] But, excuse me, what about a foreigner who comes to America and engages in subversive activity against the United States—will they give him citizenship?

[Matusevich] A foreigner, they may not...

[Gamsakhurdia] That is what I was talking about. Angela Davis is an American and therefore your comparison is not valid...

[Matusevich] But then I do not understand—does this mean that we were previously speaking about foreigners coming to Georgia...

[Gamsakhurdia] Well, they are foreigners, we consider the non- Georgian population to be foreigners...

[Matusevich] The non-Georgian population whose ancestors have lived for decades and centuries in Georgia?...

[Gamsakhurdia] We do not have citizenship yet and this is why we have this relationship to the non-Georgian population... We have a catastrophic demographic situation and we cannot do anything else.

[Matusevich] Many world publications—both Soviet and foreign—have quoted your statement in your interview for the Italian newspaper LA STAMPA [as published]. The statement went like this: The indigenous population should prevail over the other nationalities. Could you...

[Gamsakhurdia] That is not exactly right, and it probably did not convey my meaning—I said that the indigenous population must have equal rights with other nationalities. But we have places in Georgia where the indigenous population are subjected to discrimination, their rights are violated, and the non-Georgian population is given privileges. This is what I was talking about. But the indigenous population should have equal rights and we have the right to protect those rights. That is what was said. But sometimes the correspondents are not conscientious about conveying my thoughts, and this is the result.

[Matusevich] Of course, that happens. I hope that the TASS correspondent who reported your statement to the effect that Radio Liberty takes orders from the Kremlin—that report was unfair too...

[Gamsakhurdia] That is not at all the way it was said. What I said was that certain correspondents who work for Radio Liberty here, in Georgia, try to please the Kremlin by conveying false information and disinformation to your radio station.

[Matusevich] According to the report, that pertained to correspondents from many of the mass media...

[Gamsakhurdia] Yes, Radio Liberty in particular, incidentally.

[Matusevich] Could you give some specific examples?

[Gamsakhurdia] I can give an example. Recently the Russian service of Radio Liberty conveyed a report to the effect that when members of the criminal organization Mkhedrioni were arrested, our militia killed two people there, one of whom was a clergyman. In the second place, it was reported that our deputy, allegedly some Chukolava accompanied by some officials, conducted a pogrom in the staff headquarters of the National Democratic Party. There was no such deputy and what actually happened was this. The so-called National Democratic Party stole two cars from the garage of the Council of Ministers and the garage director Cholokava went and asked for the cars to be returned. They beat him up and drove him away. So on your radio station the garage director became a deputy and his name was changed. And instead of his engaging in a pogrom it was the other way around: He was beaten and driven out of there. This is the kind of information your radio station is always conveying. It accepts information from absolutely untrustworthy individuals, who are very unconscientious and have questionable moral reputations.

[Matusevich] Mr. Gamsakhurdia, in trying to sum up all of your statements in the numerous interviews published by Soviet and foreign mass media recently, one comes to the conclusion that from your standpoint, today in Georgia, having entered on the path to building a truly democratic society, there is no opposition to the parliament, that is, constructive opposition, at least judging from your statements; of all the parties, groups, and unions that exist in Georgia and the country—there is not a single one that could be considered a qualified constructive political opposition group. Am I interpreting this correctly?

[Gamsakhurdia] You see, we do have individual members of opposition forces, but to speak of a group or party, one can hardly...I would not say. Because all the serious parties are now in the parliament. Those outside the parliament have been abandoned and the people do not support them. And they are simply upstart groupings. And it is mainly criminal associations and illegal armed formations that pass themselves off as parties and political groupings, and their opposition is not opposition. But there are individuals who could be called members of the opposition, and we listen to them and debate with them... So there is opposition but it is not organized.

[Matusevich] Tell me, are there mass media in Tbilisi today that could be called opposition mass media?

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course, there are such mass media. We have many newspapers that are opposed to us and they publish the opinions of our opponents, very frequently unsubstantiated ones with falsified facts, and we cannot oppose this with force. We also respond, discuss, and insist that we are right.

[Matusevich] What happened, incidentally, to the newspaper MOLODEZH GRUZII, whose story drew attention from the mass media in our country, and many others as well, and caused a great deal of confusion?...

[Gamsakhurdia] That was the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] newspaper. When the Komsomol existed it was right for this newspaper to exist. Moreover, the very title MOLODEZH GRUZII sounded absurd to us. Well, in the first place, there never were any youth of Georgia, although there are Georgian youth. And this newspaper had absolutely nothing to do with Georgian youth. It had to do with the Komsomol, the KGB, the CPSU, and organizations like that. This newspaper also had leaders who were associated with these institutions. Additionally, we merged several newspapers. This happened also because there was a great shortage of paper at the time... And, moreover, there were not many people in favor of its continued existence... There was also information to the effect that it did not have the right to exist. But it did merge with another newspaper and its workers will be working there. It is just that its name, MOLODEZH GRUZII, is a Komsomol name and we did not like it. There is no Komsomol in Georgia, as you know...

[Matusevich] There is no doubt that there is no Komsomol, but I hope that MOLODEZH GRUZII remains...

[Gamsakhurdia] It was a Komsomol newspaper, although it changed its external appearance. And it remained Komsomol and somehow we could not put up with that.

[Matusevich] Mr. Gamsakhurdia, I would like to clarify... In the inglorious past one would not have believed the appearance of many newspapers and journals published, say, in Moscow today. The same KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA that used to be published with a large number of orders still retains its name, but in terms of the talent and objectivity with which the information is conveyed, this newspaper has nothing in common with the newspaper we read even 10 years ago...

[Gamsakhurdia] That is not true of MOLODEZH GRUZII. It followed the course that was advantageous to the Komsomol, the KGB, the CPSU... So...

[Matusevich] Well, it is difficult for me to judge...

[Gamsakhurdia] Incidentally, MOLODEZH GRUZII is now called NOVAYA GAZETA. The name was changed but that was all.

[Matusevich] Just the name?

[Gamsakhurdia] We do not recognize Hitler Youth, for example; we do not recognize such political organizations, and so we do not recognize the Komsomol. So why should it have its own newspaper? That was how the question stood at the time.

[Matusevich] Mr. Chairman, I would like to return to a subject we touched upon in connection with the concept of a foreigner in Georgia. Perhaps a certain misunderstanding has arisen here and therefore, I would like very much to discuss it in greater detail and elucidate the subject more thoroughly...

[Gamsakhurdia] I will tell you that the majority of the non- Georgian population entered Georgia in some way, took over the land, and took over the buildings—this is what we are talking about. We regard them as foreigners because it is simply wrong for them to be here... If they want citizenship they must satisfy certain requirements... They must not be enemies of Georgia and they must not engage in subversive activity. Against us, against our people. Because Georgia is in danger now. In danger from the influx of non- Georgian nationalities who are multiplying, taking over the land, and so forth. This is why this comes up. Now this does not pertain to the indigenous population who lived here several years ago. That is the difference.

[Matusevich] You mean Armenians, or Abkhazes, or Ossetians...

[Gamsakhurdia] Armenians are one thing, Abkhazes are something else, and Ossetians are something different still. The Abkhazes are ancient population of Georgia. And this does not pertain to the Armenians who have been living here since the 18th or 19th century either. But there are many refugees, people who are illegally acquiring buildings and taking over the land—these are the ones we are talking about. This does not pertain to legal inheritance.

[Matusevich] So you have in mind relatively new immigrants...

[Gamsakhurdia] They are the ones we are talking about, they are the ones we regard as foreigners. We cannot grant citizenship to just anyone who wants it and simply comes to Georgia. This is what we are talking about.

[Matusevich] That is, about people who have come to Georgia in recent years...

[Gamsakhurdia] This is why we want to establish residency requirements.

[Gamsakhurdia] Mr. Gamsakhurdia, I thank you for your kindness and for agreeing to talk with us. I hope that this first conversation, this first interview which you have granted as chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia to the Russian service of Radio Liberty, will not be the last.

[Gamsakhurdia] You are welcome...

FROM THE EDITORS.

No matter how Z. Gamsakhurdia avoided giving direct answers, one can still discern the following principles of his policy:
Withdrawal from the Soviet Union.
Return of a capitalist economy to Georgia.

No nonconformity—right to the point of closing down opposition newspapers. Which is already being done.
Deprivation of citizenship because of national and political factors.
Encouragement of blind allegiance.

Well, it seems that this is a typical transformation of a former dissident into a ruler who will not tolerate nonconformity. It is predictable in the sense that the country's present rich and diverse political mosaic provides us with convincing examples of the degeneration of leaders of democratic movements into officials with dictatorial inclinations...

Armenia, Russia Sign Cultural Agreement

NC2703155491 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 26 Mar 91

[Text] Yerevan, 26 Mar (ARMENPRES)—A cultural cooperation agreement was signed between the Ministries of Culture of the Armenian Republic and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic]. It was signed by the Armenian Minister of Culture Perch Zeytuntsyan and the Deputy Minister of Culture of RSFSR Valentin Rodionov. The agreement obligates the sides to help bring about direct cooperation between the Armenian and Russian creative unions, organizations and funds, other state and cultural organizations, and broaden contacts between artists.

In effect this means performances by theatrical and musical groups, exhibitions, exchange of theater directors and actors and many other cultural undertakings.

Radionov, deputy minister of culture of the RSFSR, said during the signing ceremony: The cultural cooperation between our peoples will continue regardless of the future status of Armenia and Russia. This document, confirming our allegiance to the universal human values, imparts a new quality into the cultural relations of Armenia and Russia.

Georgian Law on 31 March Referendum

AU2803171491 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian 21 March 91 p 2

[Law signed by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, in Tbilisi on 20 March: "Law of the Republic of Georgia on the Introduction of Changes and Amendments to the Law 'on the Referendum'"]

[Text] The Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet resolves: to express the second part of Article 15 of the Law of the Republic of Georgia 'on the Referendum' in the following wording:

"Fulfillment of the duties of the central and okrug commissions on the referendum is accordingly assigned to the central and okrug electoral commissions on elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia or to the territorial electoral commissions on elections to the assemblies of the Republic of Georgia. Precinct commissions on the referendum are to be formed by okrug commissions on the referendum according to the procedure stipulated by the central commission on the referendum."

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia
Tbilisi 20 March 1991

Georgian Resolution on 31 March Referendum

AU2803171291 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian 21 March 91 p 2

[Resolution signed by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, in Tbilisi on 20 March: "Resolution of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet on Certain Questions Connected With the Holding of the Republic of Georgia Referendum on 31 March 1991" issued in Tbilisi on 21 March]

[Text] Taking into account the proposal of the Central Commission on the Republic of Georgia Referendum in connection with the holding of the Republic of Georgia referendum on 31 March 1991, the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. With the aim of encouraging citizens of the Republic of Georgia to take part in the referendum; to hold voting in election precincts on the day of the referendum, 31 March, from 0700 to 2200; to grant those citizens who are included in the lists of electors and who, for some legitimate reason, will be outside the territory of Georgia on 31 March the right to vote early—on any day from 23 to 31 March from 1000 to 1900 in the electoral precincts stipulated by the corresponding territorial (okrug, city) electoral commission.

2. The central referendum commission will elaborate the procedure for early voting before 22 March of this year, which should guarantee a secret ballot and exclude the possibility of one and the same elector voting in more than one electoral precinct.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia
Tbilisi, 20 March 1991

Former Georgia Residents Allowed to Vote

LD2803205791 Moscow All-union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Inhabitants of Moscow, Leningrad, Baku, and Vladivostok whose last permanent residence permit was on the territory of Georgia will be able to express their attitude toward the restoration of the state independence of Georgia, based on the act of 26 May 1918. They will be able to vote on the day of the referendum—31 March—at polling stations set up in these cities on a decision adopted by the Georgian central constituency commission. This will make it possible to take into account the opinion of the maximum number of voters.